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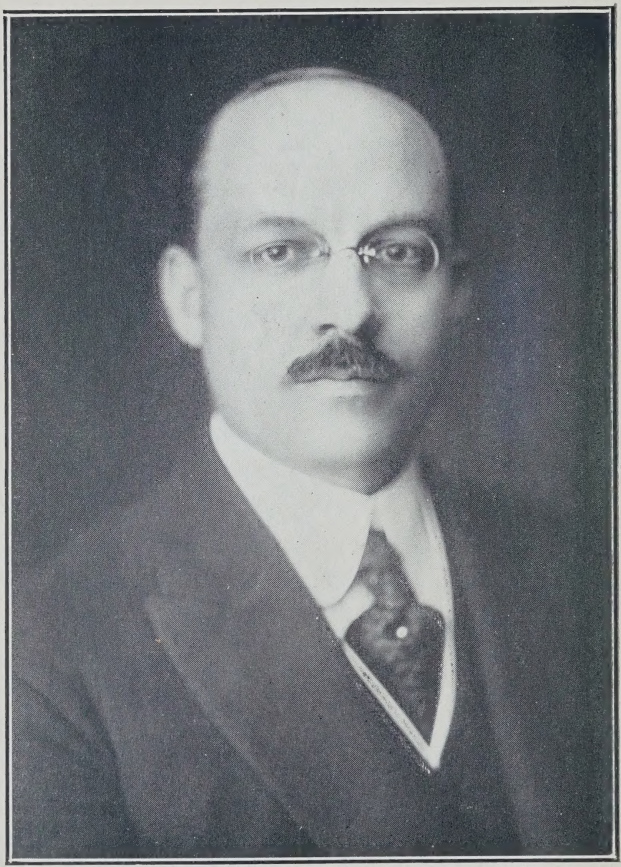
EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA



R. A. STAPELLS

President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1919.

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS DURING THE YEAR 1919.

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF ISSUE

CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

GOD SAVE THE KING

WARWICK BROS. & RUTTER
LIMITED - - - TORONTO

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The Empire Club of Canada

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CONTENTS

PAGE

OFFICERS, 1919 viii

CONSTITUTION AND PLATFORM ix

AFFILIATION WITH THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE . . xv

SIR ARTHUR PEARSON, BART., G.C.B.E. 1
The Training of Blind Soldiers in England.

CAPT. A. F. E. CARPENTER, V.C., H.M.S. "VINDICTIVE" . 20
The Fight at Zeebrugge.

HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT 50
Fraternal Relations.

HON. H. Y. BRADDON 63
Australia and Her Post-War Problem.

DR. BRUCE TAYLOR 77
Imperial Plans in Education.

LIEUT.-COL. SIR GEORGE MCLAREN BROWN 99
Canada's Achievements and Opportunities in Europe.

JOHN A. STEWART, ESQ. 109
British and American Relations.

W. R. SAVIC, ESQ. 112
The Jugo-Slavs and the Problem of the Adriatic.

CYRIL MAUDE, ESQ. 132
British Women's Work during War.

GENERAL PAUL PAU, AND ANDRE SEIGFRIED 138
France and Her Allies.

MAJOR-GENERAL EMILIO GUGLIELMOTTI 149
The Italian Problem in the Adriatic.

HON. WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING 160
The Four Parties to Industry.

REV. A. E. RIBOURG 181
Brain, Brawn, Capital.

PAGE

CHARLES H. CAHAN, ESQ., K.C. 191
A Pernicious Propaganda.

CHARLES F. THWING, D.D., L.L.D., LITT. D. . . . 216
The Enduring Greatness of Newer Nations.

HON. THEODORE MARBURG, M.A., L.L.D. 223
Certain Features of the Paris Constitution.

REV. CHARLES AUBREY EATON., D.D. 234
Democracy or Bolshevism.

P. P. CLAXTON, L.L.D., LITT. D., ETC. 251
Education and Wealth.

HENRY R. RATHBONE, ESQ. 264
The Tie that Binds.

PROF. JOHN MACNAUGHTON, M.A., L.L.D. 276
The One Thing Needful.

HON. DR. H. J. CODY 287
Empire Day.

R. C. HENDERS, ESQ, M.P. 291
Post-War Constructive Period from a Western Viewpoint

GENERAL SIR ARTHUR CURRIE, G.C.M.G., K.C.B. . . . 303
The Last Hundred Days of the War.

LORD ROBERT FINLAY 318
Some Imperial Problems.

HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL MERCIER 331
The German Occupation of Belgium.

COUNCILLOR PETER WRIGHT 346
British Sea Power.

DR. HENRY VAN DYKE 360
Canada and the United States.

DR. CHARLES W. SERVICE 369
Some of China's Problems.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, THE PRINCE OF WALES . . 385
Impressions of my Canadian Tour and a Farewell Message to Canadians.

PAGE
SIR HARRY BRITTAIN, K.B.E., M.P. 392
The Press and the Empire.

F. A. VANDERLIP, ESQ. 405
Conditions in the United States.

E. W. BEATTY, ESQ. 420
Ontario and It's Railways.

LEON MERCIER GOUIN, ESQ. 430
A United Canada.

LORD LEVERHULME 442
Education and Commerce.

ADMIRAL VISCOUNT JELLICOE 458
The British Navy.

PROFESSOR A. P. NEWTON 466
The Universities and Commerce.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB 485

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE

Year 1919.

Patron and Honorary President

FIELD-MARSHALL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARN, K.G., G.C.M.G.

President: R. A. Stapells
First Vice-President: Arthur Hewitt
Second Vice-President: Dr. F. C. Stephenson
Third Vice-President: A. E. Gilverson

Secretary-Treasurer: Dr. Albert H. Abbott, 43 King Street West

Committee

L. A. Winter.
A. R. MacDougall.
Wm. Brooks.
Chas. M. Horswell.
J. Murray Clark, K.C.
Sir Frederick Stupart.
Lieut.-Col. R. C. LeVesconte.
Prof. M. A. Mackenzie.
R. E. Patterson.
H. H. Mason.
Lorne W. Mitchell.
Dr. W. A. Black.
A. H. Macfarlane.
W. R. Gibson.
E. B. Stockdale.
J. B. Perry.
E. H. Wilkinson.
Dr. D. J. Goggin.
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh.
Norman Sommerville.

Advisory Council of Past Presidents

F. J. Coombs (Chairman).
J. P. Murray, J.P.
J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.
J. Castell Hopkins, F.R.G.S.
Elias Clouse, M.D.
Rt. Rev. J. F. Sweeny, D.D.
Hon. Justice James Craig.
Lt.-Col. R. J. Stuart.
Albert Ham, Mus. Doc.
J. B. Perry.
Norman Sommerville, M.A.

CONSTITUTION AND PLATFORM

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed, under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The membership of the Club shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject and shall consist of

(*a*) Active Resident Members.
(*b*) Non-Resident Members.
(*c*) Life Members.
(*d*) Honorary Members.

Active Resident Members, and Non-Resident Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Active resident members shall pay an annual fee of $3.00 and non-resident members $2.00, this fee to include membership, obtained after October fifteenth in any year, till December thirty-first of the following year.

No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or to be eligible for office.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election as Life Members at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second, and Third Vice-President; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; and seventeen other members, all of gether with the officers before mentioned, shall constitute the Executive Committee, and shall hold office throughout the calendar year. All Past Presidents of the Club shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the immediate Past President, and such Advisory Council shall elect annually three members, who, together with the retiring President, shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members to be held not later than December 15th of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:—

(*a*) Finance Committee.
(*b*) Speakers' Committee.
(*c*) Membership Committee.
(*d*) Constitution Committee.
(*e*) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(*f*) Publicity Committee.
(*g*) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. As the financial year does not end until December 31st, the Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at any regular meeting of the Club held during the month of January.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual, or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the address and notice of motions shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year shall be the same as the calendar year, viz.: January first to December thirty-first.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

TORONTO

Amended Platform of Principles and Objects for which the Empire Club of Canada stands

1. That, as hitherto, the main object of the Empire Club of Canada is the advancement of the interests of Canada, and a United Empire.

2. That the term British should apply to all citizens of the Empire.

3. That the Empire should be so organized that Canada and the other self-governing Dominions should be given a share in the control of its destinies, particularly in matters of peace and war.

4. That the different parts of the Empire should contribute to the cost of its defence, in such manner and amount as may be properly determined by a Convention called by the Parliaments of the Empire.

5. That in Imperial organization there should be preserved to the several self-governing Dominions their autonomy and the control of all local as distinguished from Imperial matters.

6. That Canadian public Lands should be given free to citizens who have fought, or enlisted to fight, in the armies, navies and air forces of the Empire and who express a desire for farm life—a condition of such grant to be actual settlement and cultivation by the donee; and that an equivalent recognition should be given to such soldiers as desire to follow other occupations.

7. That all articles of growth, produce or manufacture within the component parts of the Empire should be given preferential advantages in the respective markets of the Empire, and that measures should be adopted to prevent any of the Empire's resources being utilized to injure British interests.

8. That a proper system of physical and military training should be introduced in the schools, colleges and universities throughout the Dominion of Canada.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

GOVERNING THE AFFILIATION OF

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

1. That the Royal Colonial Institute and the Empire Club of Canada be affiliated with a view to mutually promoting the object for which both were founded, namely, the Unity of the Empire.

2. That members of the Empire Club of Canada introduced by the Secretary of the Club, on recording their arrival in England, to the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, be made Honorary Fellows for one month.

3. That residents in the Dominion of Canada may become non-resident Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute and Members of the Empire Club of Canada on being duly proposed and seconded, and on payment of an Entrance Fee of One Guinea (Five Dollars) and an Annual Subscription of Twenty-five Shillings, (Six Dollars) for which they will receive the Journal of the Institute "United Empire" free of charge, and, when in London, have the use of the Institute Building as a Standing Address. This subscription will cover membership of both the Club and the Institute, and shall be allotted to the Institute and the Club in the proportion of three dollars and fifty cents to the former, and two dollars and fifty cents to the latter.

4. That all publications of the Empire Club of Canada shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute as soon as published, and each Member of the Institute, so desiring, shall be entitled to a copy of the annual volume of the Empire Club Proceedings and Addresses for the sum of seventy-five cents, or three shillings.

5. That the Monthly Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, "United Empire," shall be supplied to the Members of the Empire Club of Canada who are *not* Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute at an Annual Subscription of One Dollar, including postage, the ordinary subscription being one shilling per copy or twelve shillings a year exclusive of postage.

6. That the Financial Year of the Empire Club be the same as the Calendar Year, viz.—January first to December thirty-first.

7. That the Joint-Life-Subscription for new Non-Resident Fellows of the Institute and Members of the Empire Club be $65 (£13.1.0) ; $45 (£9.1.0) of which is payable to the Institute and includes an entrance fee of $5 (£1.1.0) ; and $20 (£4.) payable to the Empire Club.

Received and adopted by the Empire Club of Canada, October 17, 1918.

JOINT FEES

AS IN ARTICLES 3 AND 7 ABOVE

ANNUAL FEE			LIFE FEE			
TOTAL	DISTRIBUTION		TOTAL	DISTRIBUTION		
	E. C.	R. C. I.		E. C.	R. C. I.	
Dollars $6	$2.50	$3.50	$65.00	$20	$45	Includes $5.00 (£1 1s.) Initiation Fee for R. C. I.
Sterling £1 5s.	£0 10s.	£0 15s.	£13 1s.	£4	£9 1s.	
			$60.00	$20	$40	For present members who have already paid R. C. I. Initiation.
			£12	£4	£8	

The Object of the Club is
the Advancement of the Interests of
Canada and a United Empire

THE TRAINING OF BLIND SOLDIERS IN ENGLAND

AN ADDRESS BY SIR ARTHUR PEARSON, BART., G.C.B.E.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 7, 1919.

PRESIDENT R. A. STAPELLS was greeted with three cheers and a tiger on taking the chair for the first time since his election. He said: "Permit me to thank you very sincerely indeed for your kindness in electing me as your president this year. I am afraid that you have made a grave error, and mistaken enthusiasm and energy for efficiency and ability. However, I can but promise to do my best, with the hope that that best will prove satisfactory. (Applause.) I am not unmindful of the fact that during the past year the Empire Club has come into its own. In point of membership and influence I think it can be safely said to be the most important organization of its kind in Canada. (Hear, Hear, and applause.) I congratulate my predecessor, Mr. Coombs, upon bringing this about during his regime, and I thank him for handing over to me the reins of office of such a flourishing organization. I receive some comfort, coming here today, from my mentor in the affairs of the Empire Club, so to speak, the chairman of your nominating com-

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Sir Arthur Pearson the eminent British newspaper proprietor and publisher is the Chairman of St. Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors, President of the National Institute for the Blind in Great Britain, and Honorary President of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind. He has revolutionized the condition of the blind in Great Britain and has re-adapted and trained over twelve hundred British Soldiers blinded in the War, including over fifty Canadians. He is also the publisher of "The Standard of Empire" which has done much for the unification of the Empire.

mittee, Dr. Goggin, who said: 'You know, Stapells, we took a chance in electing you president (Laughter.) but we took jolly good care to select an Executive Committee whose members had the ability and experience to guide you in the way that you should go.' (Laughter.) So, gentlemen, I feel I am not unduly optimistic when I predict that with the experience of Mr. Sommerville, who has very kindly consented to act again as chairman of the Speakers Committee—and I think Mr. Coombs and last year's Executive will confirm my statement when I say that the magnificent meetings we had last year were largely due to Mr. Sommerville's indefatigable efforts, his personal popularity, and his inimitable ability in the matter of approaching prospective speakers—So I say, with Mr. Sommerville's assistance and your own kind co-operation in the matter of attending regularly our weekly luncheons, and the guidance I shall receive from that excellent Executive Committee you have elected to support me, we can look forward with confidence to an enjoyable, and possibly a successful year. (Applause.)

Before the war broke out a great soldier-prophet went up and down through the length and breadth of England warning the nation of the German menace, and appealing for preparedness. Pacifists laughed at him, the rest of us ignored him; dear old Lord Roberts died, but the nation lived and the nation learned. War broke out; that prophecy became a stern reality, and another great soldier-prophet with a vision given to but few men predicted that the war would last three, four, if not five years. Again the pacifists laughed, and through Norman Angell, in his great "Delusion," they claimed that the financial interests of the world would not permit a war to last that long. The rest of us were frankly dubious. The noble Lord Kitchener died, and the nation lived and the nation learned.

To-day the war is over, and the German menace thank God, a thing of the past. Re-adjustment days are upon us, and thousands of sightless heroes from the battlefields of France would constitute a great and grave problem if another British prophet, with a vision given to but few men, had not foreseen the very thing that has come to pass. Five or six years ago Sir Arthur Pearson started out to preach the gospel that blindness was not a hopeless affliction, but simply a temporary handicap, and from that day on he has devoted his time, his means, and his wonderful ability to spreading that gospel. Today this prophet, not without honor in his own country, and greatly honored in all the civilized nations of the world, is with us to say something about the wonderful work which revolves and has its being around him.

I am sure Sir Arthur will bear with me for a moment while I refer to another guest we have here today. I have reference to Private Dies, of whom Torontonians are particularly proud, and of whom I think Sir Arthur speaks as one of his boys from St. Dunstan's —I believe he was there twelve months. Private Dies lost the sight of both eyes and his one arm at Vimy Ridge. Toronto before the war was proud of her sportsmen and their achievements, but during the war still more proud of her sportsmen and their achievements, and now that the war is over she acclaims more than ever her sportsmen and their achievements. Before the war no finer or cleaner sportsman stepped into the arena of athletics than sportsman Bill Dies. During the war, when the sterner game had to be played, no braver, finer, or more courageous soldier stepped into the arena of battle than Private Bill Dies. Now that the war is over, no brighter, more cheerful, more optimistic man returns to the arena of private life than citizen Bill Dies. (Applause.) Yes, gentlemen, Toronto is proud of her sportsmen and their achievements, and I feel sure that Canada will never forget the great work done by Private Dies and his comrades —others of them than are here today—in fighting for their King, their Flag and their Empire. (Applause.) It is particularly fitting that he should be here today, because after losing his sight at Vimy Ridge he went to St. Dunstan's in London. Now, gentlemen, it is a very great honor indeed to present to you Sir Arthur

Pearson, who is to tell us something about his work and its wonderful results."

Sir Arthur Pearson was received with loud applause, the audience rising. He said:—I feel it a very great honor that I should be permitted to address the members of the Empire Club, particularly as the ideals and aspirations of the Club are and always have been wholly my own. I regard it as a privilege to be permitted to speak to so distinguished an audience of the great business and professional interests of this great Dominion. I should like to tell you something of the gallant men who with such courage, such resolution and such determination are learning or have learned to be blind under my care at St. Dunstan's—which is a generic term for a group of establishments. We started in the original house of St. Dunstan's, a very magnificent mansion on the borders of Richmond Park. It possesses the largest grounds of any house in London in panoramic appearance, and was placed at my disposal by that eminent financier, Mr. Otto Cohen. He has been more than generous; he has permitted me to do absolutely as I liked with his lovely property. But St. Dunstan's has grown far beyond its original confines. It now includes half a dozen establishments in London, grouped closely around the parent house, and another in the country, where fellows are sent who need a period of recuperation, and also fellows after hospital, or those who are more seriously invalided than by mere blindness, have found a home there. I wish I could take you through the whole of that wonderful place. The thing that would amaze you most would be the air of cheeriness and happiness that pervades it all—to most people the most remarkable feature. There is no happier, gayer body of men in the world than the 700 blinded soldiers who are at the present moment in St. Dunstan's. (Applause.) As an indication of their spirit I will tell you what they did on Armistice Day. No arrangements were made. When the news came through about a quarter to eleven, every one threw down his tools or Braille book, or automatic typewriter, and stopped automatically; of course that was to be expected. In the afternoon the fire engine was brought out, and the motor-car was produced from the garage; the motor-car was harnessed to the fire engine; and St. Dunstan's Rag-time Band—a very good band, let me tell you— moved with fire engine and the men of St. Dunstan's, the fire engine letting out a column of fire behind, and those fellows to the number of 600 marched through the streets of London, all through the principal streets, with the band playing in front. I don't mind telling you they had some reception. (Applause.) A reporter of one of the London papers heard what was going on, and set out to chase them. He asked policemen, pedestrians and taxi-drivers and different people where the blind fellows were, and he said he always got the same reply—"All on their own"—and those are the words with which he ended his story that day. (Laughter.) And that was very typical of the experience of St. Dunstan's.

We teach many things at St. Dunstan's. First of all, we teach men to be blind. That is a hard lesson, but it does not take very long to learn, and the splendid spirit of optimism and cheeriness that pervades the place makes it infinitely less hard than could possibly be supposed. The place is not merely a joy house; it is a place of very serious business. One of the greatest compliments, I think, that has been paid to St. Dunstan's was paid by a very important business man a few weeks ago before I came away. After going through he came to see me in my office and said, "This place of yours gives me exactly the same impression that I have often received in going through a large, well-managed and prosperous business establishment." St. Dunstan's is well managed, and I was very glad to hear from him he thought it to be, and prosperous it has most decidedly become—prosperous in the fact that it transforms what to most people's minds would be human material of the most crude and hopeless description into the bright, happy outcome of human endeavor. (Applause.)

Let us take a glance into the class-rooms, a very large building put up in the grounds, capable of holding

300 men at a time. Here you find men learning Braille—a difficult art, but not impossible to anybody; it requires patience and concentration—two qualities that the loss of one's sight does not in any way diminish. Each one has his own individual teacher, and I cannot speak too highly of the services of those ladies who come twice every day, in all weathers—not to speak of their other engagements—to teach their blinded soldiers to read again. They learn typewriting, too, all of them, simply as an ordinary accomplishment, just as they have to learn to read again, so they have to learn to write. One's handwriting deteriorates when one's sight goes, inevitably and more or less rapidly. The typewriter automatically prevents most of the mistakes of the blind writer, and all the men of St. Dunstan's learn to operate the typewriter, and learn it with amazing speed. One day I was going through the ranch, and heard a typewriter, and I said, "Who is it?" "Tom." I said, "Haven't you been here only four or five weeks?" "Five weeks yesterday." "You have never used a typewriter before?" He said, "I have never seen a typewriter." (Laughter and applause.) And the speed with which that typewriting is acquired is a tremendous incentive to tackle more difficult tasks set them as time goes on.

Before leaving the class-rooms I wish to speak to you of the highest development that is taught there, that is apparently impossible, and I am sure to practically all of you incomprehensible, and that is, the shorthand writing by blind operators. It would take me too long to describe how it is done. An ingenious little machine has to be called into use, and you can take it from me that our fellows leave St. Dunstan's with an absolutely guaranteed speed of 100 words a minute or more. (Applause.) The men who take up this as a profession, of course, require typewriting in its highest form, all sorts of typewriters' work, and they know all about the mechanism of a typewriter, so that if anything goes wrong there is no need to call on anyone for assistance. I want to dwell on this for you business men, because one or two have already returned to

Toronto and several more are returning, and I want Toronto to feel that the same thing will be happening here as happens in London. The business men of London and great provincial towns are not, as they were originally, skeptical as to the abilities of a blind shorthand-typewriter, and are asking for him. (Applause.) The Executive of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, 36 King St., East, will always be glad to give an opportunity to any man who wishes to try the experiment—it won't be an experiment for long—to present the work of a blind shorthand secretary, and will always be glad to give the names of any who are already here, or who are coming; and I have not the slightest doubt that those men will all make good. Our fellows who have gone into it are today earning salaries the same as, or better than, their sighted compeers, and I think in the case of everyone of them, are earning more money than they did when they could see. (Applause.)

Now we pass out of the class-rooms along the covered way that leads to the workshops, and on the way is the place where massage is taught. Now, that, again, has been a very remarkable success in the case of St. Dunstan's. As with shorthand writing, the success is particularly gratifying to me because I started it in the teeth of the firmest opposition by those who thought they knew. They said, "No, there have been one or two blind shorthand writers before, but they are people who have always been blind." Again, with the massage, "There have been a few, I think to the number of three, blind masseurs, but those are men who were medical students, who are doctors, who already knew the amount of anatomy, physiology, and pathology necessary, and it was therefore comparatively easy, but it cannot be done." What are the facts? The facts are these. All our fellows passed the examination of the Incorporated Society of Trained Masseurs. There has not been a failure yet, not one, and everyone of the 62 men who have already passed and gone out are either employed in military hospitals or in civilians' apartments, or have already started out in private practice for themselves, and the poorest of those men started right away and has held his place from the start with a salary of £2,10 a week. (Applause.) You must remember, please, when I tell you the salary figures that fill me with pride, that I am talking of England, and that the sums that seem considerable to us are not so considerable here, and I always like to mention the salaries, not particularly because I am a money grubber, but because money is a very useful thing to have about the house, and I don't believe anybody need despise it. It is not from that point of view; it is because, after all, the salary a man earns that is a criterion of his capacity. It is very well for people to say, "Oh yes, the dear blinded soldiers are very wonderful, and it is remarkable how cheerful they are, and so on, but after all, when it comes down to hard tacks, what can they do?" Well, I like to tell them what they can do, and that means money.

From the Massage Department we will pass along to the work shops. Here the men learn quite a variety of trades—carpentry, cobbling, basket-making, art working—and at all of those they acquire proficiency in a remarkably short space of time. As illustrating that, I will tell you a thing that was very practical, that happened at St. Dunstan's about two years ago. The chairman of the largest workshops for the blind in England, in Manchester, wrote and asked if I would receive a deputation from his committee. I said, "Of course." I thought they had come to talk to me about funds, because most of those institutions are not very well off, and I do happen in the past to have acquired the knack of raising money for deserving places. However, it was nothing of the kind. They came to my room, five of them, and they said, "Now, we have been looking at the men you have trained here, who have settled in Lancashire, and we have come to ask you how it is that in a period of from eight to twelve months you can teach a man what it takes us five or six years to teach him?" Well, I pursued the subject and showed that not only had the men learned the industry which had so much interested them, but they had also learned to read Braille and typewriting and learned to row, and swim, and learned to handle themselves, and all kinds of other things. Then came the answer to the question, and my answer was a longish one —I will boil it down to the two principal points—I said, "Abolish that revolting word 'Affliction,' try to realize comforts, and you cut the time of training by half at once." (Applause.) I then asked how many blind teachers they had, and they replied none. I asked how many had they ever had, and they said none. I said again, "Go back, and employ a few competent blind men among your own staff as teachers, and you will cut the time in half again, for a blind teacher is the great asset of St. Dunstan's." Think what it means. Let anyone of you get hold of a man that has lost his sight, and set him down to do something, and you say, "Come along, old chap, you do this, or that, or the other, and it is quite easy;" and he says, "What in the name of everybody do you know about it?" And you don't know anything. The blind man knows when he is shown right, and consequently he feels, "If he can do it, I can do it." And we develop the principle of blind tuition to its utmost capacity at St. Dunstan's. When a man in any of the departments shows unusual ability, I ask him if he will take the place of pupil-teacher. He is paid a wage, and he starts in instructing the newcomers in what they have to do. Imagine what that is to the newcomer, when he realizes that the man that is showing him was himself blinded in the trenches less than a year ago.

Poultry farming is another industry at St. Dunstan's. Again it seems curious for blind people, but it is a thing they acquire with great facility, and for people that live in the country and are accustomed to country pursuits it is a quite well-paying industry.

I should like to tell you more about the carpentry and joinery, for it is an absolutely new industry for blind people, and it is a thing that honestly seems impossible that a fellow who cannot see should be able to handle carpenter's tools and turn out the beautiful work that those fellows turn out—beautiful little tables, ornamental cupboards, photo frames, heavier stuff, such as wardrobes, tables, etc. As an instance, we saw a fellow putting in a floor in High Street, Eton. He was a photo framer, and the principal instructor, an extremely able blind man, said to him that he thought the work shops would like to fit the shop up—it was an empty shop—and I said "Certainly, let them go at it." He went down there with his little teacher, measured it, and set three of his pupils at the job. One made the back cupboards, another the pay counter with its desk, and the other the shop window front. I had experts to see the work; I had a regular show, and got people connected with the large furniture shops to see it, and they told me that if that work had been produced at Maple's or Waring's, or at some regular shop, it could not have been better done. (Applause.) I think that, from the workmanship point of view, is the great triumph of St. Dunstan's. We have many of those fellows coming back to England, and people coming across their work will be quite amazed at how they do it and the quality of it when it is done.

In the paper this morning, in the report of what I said yesterday, I read that we taught knitting at St. Dunstan's. We do not teach knitting at St. Dunstan's. We teach them netting, which may be looked upon as a paying hobby and not an industry, and it helps the fellows to follow up. We do not teach knitting for two reasons. First, the machine knitting done by the aid of a Swiss machine is not a very manly job; secondly it is one of the things I prefer to ear-mark for blind girls. (Applause.)

May I digress for a moment from St. Dunstan's to say something about blind girls. When the last blinded soldier has been cared for, indeed before that, I and my colleagues are going to turn our attention very seriously to the blind girl, who, on the whole, is a very neglected and after all very sad type, I think in practically all countries. I am very glad to see that that splendid body of women, the Ladies' Association connected with the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, is taking the blind girl problem seriously in this city and throughout Canada, and I have worked in the closest co-operation with them. In the National Institute for the Blind, in London, of which I have the honor to be President, we are extremely interested in blind girls. We are the only printers of Braille literature in the British Empire, and produce it in very large quantities. You must not run away with the idea that they only have the Bible; they have an abundance of literature of the present and past. Thirty-eight girls are engaged in making those Braille books. They live in a very happy community, near by, in a hostel where they have every comfort at a very low price. They are paid good wages, just the same as girls who can see are paid for the same work, and they are the brightest, cheeriest body of young women you could see. We hear them talk about the color of the hats they are going to wear; their dress is cut in the latest fashion, and they are dear little feminine creatures. Very many people have thought that when you lose your sight, you lose most of your other senses, and they seem to think that in regard to girls much more than men. I had an amusing little instance of that a few months ago. A lady wrote me and asked if she might bring her daughter to me, and she brought to me a charming girl, sixteen years old, who had been blind since earliest childhood. I found that this little girl did absolutely nothing. I asked her about Braille, about typewriting, and her mother kept going on saying, "Oh, but she can dress herself"—as if that were the foundation and the ending of everything. Well, we talked and talked, and when the time came I took the little girl by the hand and said, "Now, Miss North, listen carefully to what I am going to say; and you, Mrs. North, listen." I said, "Fight mother! Fight mother! Fight mother!" From letters which I got from her quite regularly I do not mind telling you there is a good healthy scrap going on in the North house. (Laughter.)

While on the subject of blind women, I recall a very remarkable old lady. She is about sixty, and has been blind for about 20 years. She knits a great deal with her hands. I was very much surprised to find that she knew the color of five different sorts of wool. She knew white, black, red, green, and blue wool. I asked her how in the world she did it. She said, "It is quite simple; it is only a matter of using one's other senses and intelligence a little bit. White wool is much softer than any other; it is undyed and very soft. Black is much harsher than any other. Red wool comes just between those two, as you can again see for yourself, (Laughter.) then green wool has a funny little smell of its own, I suppose with the dye"—and I noticed it had. Then she stopped, and I said, "What about the blue?" She stopped and said, "Oh, you are not very bright; it is not one of the others." (Great Laughter.)

My blinded soldiers learn to play as well as work. The ideal we have before us at St. Dunstan's all the time is normality. The first thing I say to a fellow when I meet him is this, "You are not coming to an Institution for the Blind; we have not any blind people at St. Dunstan's; you are coming to a place full of normal men who don't see." When the fellow gets that in his soul it is all well with him. Play is just as normal as work. The fellows learn to row with quite remarkable skill. Many of them who have never been in a bigger piece of water than a bath tub learn to be efficient swimmers. They go into the tug-of-war, three-legged races, sack races, and all that, and the spirit of emulation runs as keenly among them as it does among your good Canadian sportsmen. They learn to play lacrosse; still that doesn't make any difference to the game, (Laughter.); and should any of you come across a St. Dunstan's graduate who plays a good game of bridge, all that will happen will be that when dummy is laid down the cards will be called for and each player as he places his card will announce it as it is put down; and with these trifling differences the game will go on exactly the same as it does among full-sighted players. Domino tournaments are a regular feature. Some fellows play chess. That is a little beyond me. I always thought chess was too much like work, but some of the officers are particularly keen on it. They play quite a variety of other indoor games they pick up. Dancing is extremely popular; it teaches a man balance and control; it teaches him nearness of obstacles—not by the sense of hearing, as appeared in the paper this morning, because you do not make an awful lot of noise when you dance. That curious "sense of obstacle" that comes to blind people more or less rapidly, and enables you quite unfailingly to tell whether you are more than a foot or two within the sweep of the object, does more than is generally considered, and there are no more collisions in the ball room at St. Dunstan's than in any other, especially with the finished pupils.

I should like to tell you about the system. We do not shake the fellow by the hand, and say "Good bye, old chap, good luck." We look after him with completeness and thorough care. The head of the Vocational Department is a young officer who was blinded at the Somme in 1916, and who has 13 people under him, and is conducting the rather complicated business of looking after the 800 men we have among us with business-like aptitude. We provide those fellows with a home, we supervise their work for the first two months, and we generally care for them from the point of view of their wives, families, holidays, etc. It is a very complete system. The country is divided into districts, and it is all done on a business-like basis.

I am pleased to tell you that the men of St. Dunstan's are not the only competent blind men. You have Mr. Johnston, the publisher of this town; Mr. Lindsay, the musical publisher of Montreal, Mr. Tom Foster, a lawyer in Montreal; and there are plenty of blind men who made good before St. Dunstan's started, but I think in all probability that most of those who lost their sight in adult life had a very hard row to hoe for some years. Our fellows are spared that, and they get right into it. The causes of our success at St. Dunstan's are, first, the acceptance of that standard of normality to which I have referred; secondly,—though I ought to put it first—that splendid spirit of courage, independence and determination. I have about sixty of your Canadian blinded soldiers with me at St. Dunstan's now, and those fellows show the same spirit that carried them up Vimy Ridge, and I know what that meant, because last year I was up at Vimy Ridge myself, and how in the world that ridge could have been stormed by human beings is one of the mysteries that always confronted me. The same determination that took your gallant fellows up Vimy Ridge will enable them to gain the even harder victory which they are securing over the grim foe who sought to destroy spirit as well as sight. (Applause.)

I could talk to you for quite a long time about examples, but I do not need to talk to you in Toronto about examples at St. Dunstan's, because you have plenty of them—Capt. Edwin Baker, perhaps the most proficient boy I ever had to live with me. (Applause.) He returned first to the Hydro Electric Power Commission in Toronto, and has now been appointed by Sir James Lougheed's Department to look after the blinded soldiers who have already returned, and who are returning, and those who have not been to St. Dunstan's. No better examples of resolute, self-reliant blind men could be found than Capt. Baker, and those of his other colleagues here. (Applause.) Mr. Viets represents the Imperial Insurance Company; he may have hit some of you already, and if he has not, I hope he will. He is doing splendidly. I think the officials of that company will tell you that he counts for a good deal in their proceedings. Sgt. Malone, masseur, is doing excellently in private practice, and I hope all of you will remember him, and here I am going to make a little digression. If there are any medical men in this audience, I hope they will bear with me when I ask them to give a show to the blind masseur. Massage is the one thing which a blind man can do not only as well as, but better than the other fellow. There is no doubt about that. It has been a first-rate success in England. A great deal of prejudice had to be overcome, but it was overcome, owing to the fact that I sent my fellows, when they were trained, to the great military hospitals where the doctors had an opportunity of seeing their work and how they did it. I have some most amazing testimonials from the greatest orthopedic man of the day, Sir Arthur Jones, who has a wonderful hospital near Liverpool, and he wrote me a testimonial of the four men who had been with him a year and more, and if I had dictated it and sent it to him to sign, I should not have dared to put the case as strongly as he did. Some splendid soldier masseurs are coming back to Canada, and I hope you gentlemen will bear them in mind and communicate with the Canadian National Institute for the Blind if you are in need of a man of that kind, and that any medical men present will believe in the honesty of what I have told them and give the blinded masseur the inestimable benefit of their support and of their faith in the quality of his work. (Applause.) Private McDougall, another masseur, who under Government auspices is now instructing both blinded and sighted people at Hart House, who passed third out of 243 at graduation, is another splendid example in Toronto of the men of St. Dunstan's, such as Bill Dies, of whom your Chairman has spoken. Dies is one of the considerable number of fellows we have who suffer from the double handicap of loss of sight and loss of one hand, but that has not made any difference to Dies, and it is not going to. (Applause.) He has the right spirit, and I hope he will, as we talked matters over yesterday, shortly find himself established in some business at which I know he will succeed. We set up our one-handed fellows in England as news agents, tobacconists, general stores and things of that sort, and they are doing amazingly well. It happens, curiously, that taking the average earnings, the men who are blind and one-handed are the highest of all. (Applause.) Of course, it is owing to the difference in the business.

In England we have a very great number of wonderful examples of success. I will just name three to you, two non-commissioned officers, and a private soldier. I spoke of some others yesterday. The father of the officer, Lieut. Ross, was a babbitt manufacturer in

Leicester; he had been a very few months in business when the war broke out. His father died while he was fighting in France; he went back to find his brother, who had also been invalided out of the service, and had come back to business, and those fellows have gone into business now, and have done a great deal better than they had ever done before; and Lieut. Ross secured entirely on his own initiative, a contract for an entirely new branch of business, which in the first twelve months brought a profit of £2,500 additional to the firm. (Applause.) Sgt. Pettit, one of the joiners I have been telling you of, is a photo frame maker at Harrow. You remember we just set a fellow up at Eton. Outside of every big English public school I have these men, and I have shops waiting outside for us where they are not at present. The reason is that little boys at school have a way of wanting photographs of their football teams, and their own photographs. Three times a year along comes a fresh crop of customers, and as long as the work is right you will keep such customers. This man Pettit was a gamekeeper earning 22 shillings a week before he went to the front. He specialized on photo frames, and is now outside the Harrow School, and the last I heard of him was that he was earning a steady £8 a week. (Applause.) The last instance I will tell, will probably strike you as the most notable of all, Private Jackson, of Birkenhead. He had been a barber, and took to making light fancy baskets, pretty little ornamental work-baskets, and things of that kind. He became extremely practical, and a thoroughly good fellow all round. When I had my good-bye with him, I said "Well, Jackson, I was thinking about you when I was getting up this morning, and as I was shaving myself it occurred to me, why can't you go on shaving people?" Jackson said, "Well, I really don't know why I shouldn't, but I don't know if I could get anyone to trust me." I said, "Oh, yes, you will." Well, Jackson got someone to trust him, and with an ordinary old-fashioned, open-bladed razor, Jackson is today shaving more people than he ever did in his life. (Laughter and applause.) The last I heard from him he said he hadn't drawn blood yet. (Laughter.) That is a very remarkable instance as showing the manner in which a man is able to adapt himself to do work which almost any human being would say was absolutely and hopelessly beyond his capacity.

Drummer Deans is one of the features at St. Dunstan's. I call him the drummer because he came back with eight years service. He joined the army as a drummer boy at the age of 12. He is blind, his right hand is off, and all the fingers of his left hand are off, except the little finger. He typewrites quite nicely at about two-thirds of ordinary speed. He is the cheeriest boy in the world. I came across him in the hall the other day. He had been there about three years, and I said, "Well, Drummer, when are you going to go?" He said, "Whenever you chuck me out." He is not going to go, because whenever a fellow feels in the dumps we turn the drummer on him. He ties his own tie, and he is enormously annoyed because he cannot button his collar; however, he has to put up with that. I want to tell you a story about him as illustrating the cheery spirit of St. Dunstan's. He was in the shop, and somebody in the shop noticed his blind eyes and his arm, and asked, "Lord, did you get that in the war?" "War? War?" said Drummer Deans; "What are you talking about? I got that in a bicycle accident in the Old Kent Road." (Laughter.) One of the young officers was asked to spend a week-end with some friends a week ago, and when he got to the house he found that owing to illness they were unable to give him a bedroom, and asked him if he would mind sleeping in the Porter's Lodge about sixty yards away from the house. To which he agreed. He went down there at bedtime, and they told him the gatekeeper was away at the war, but his wife would look after him all right. He went into the house, and he was received by two women, and one of them introduced herself, and explained her presence thus: "You see here my daughter. I am an old woman and my daughter being a respectable young married woman, I thought it was best that I should come along to bath you in the morning." (Great laughter.)

I will give you one case in which rather an awkward situation sometimes arises when one does not see as well as one used to. A few months ago I was going to dine at a friend's house, who lives at Portland Place in London, and I was a little late and was bustling along there as quickly as I could, and I met one of those individuals you know—the kind of fellow, I mean, who expects people to get out of his way. This time he was disappointed, and we came into somewhat violent collision, and he said, "Why the devil don't you look where you are going?" I said, "Well, if it comes to that, why the devil don't you?" He replied, "I asked the question first; what is your answer?" I said, "I am blind." He said, "Rats!"—and away he went. (Laughter.)

At the risk of appearing egotistic I wish to tell you another story about myself, because it illustrates the very simple way in which one manages to get along, and to do what to people who can see, seems incomprehensible. I was alone one morning on the street, and coming back there was a side street to cross, and I heard a cart coming, the cart stopped exactly in front of me, I made a detour across the street and went on, a friend of mine happened to be coming down the street behind me and said, "It was very wonderful how you avoided that cart." I said, "I don't quite see why; it was such a long one." I said, "Think for yourself a minute; the cart stopped, I could hear the horse breathing, so I knew he was exactly in front of me; I smelt the smell of coal, therefore I knew it was a coal cart, and therefore a long cart, and I took the right detour and here I am." (Laughter.) He said, "You were wonderful." I said, "Nothing of the kind; it simply means that I arrived at the conclusion by the combined use of my senses of hearing and smell, while you arrive at it with all your senses, including sight. Nothing wonderful at all"—and neither it was. Just before I left London I had a letter from one of my fellows who settled down in Taunton, Somersetshire. He was quite amusing. He was telling me that he was out shopping with the wife and she left him in the Market Square, and an old gentleman came up and said, "Excuse me, do you mind telling me the time? My sight is failing, and I can't make it out any longer by the town clock." My fellow said, "I slipped my hand in my pocket and felt the time, and said, it is five minutes past three." The old gentleman said, "Thank you very much, it is very sad when one's sight fails and one can no longer see the time by the town clock!" (Laughter.)

The pleasantest thing I can think of in connection with St. Dunstan's is the fact that the ideals which have been carried out there are going to be most far-reaching, and I hope immensely important to blind people all over the world, and very particularly, I believe, here in Canada. The fellows who have returned from St. Dunstan's here have the benefit of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, and the co-operation of its able President, Mr. L. M. Wood, and some very leading business men of Canada, who have become Vice-Presidents or members of the Committee; and they are going to make a whole wide-world of difference to the blind people of Canada. Though the results of St. Dunstan's, so far as the blinded soldier is concerned, are very wonderful—and I am not at all modest about it, you will observe—yet I think the results reaching far into the future will inevitably be more wonderful still.

The other evening when I left New York I read a paragraph in a paper to the effect that they were just starting a train service from Paris to Athens which was going to be continued to Bagdad, and the word Bagdad reminded me of Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp, whom you probably all remember from your childhood days. Aladdin, you recall, went through Bagdad calling, "Old Lamps for New!" At St. Dunstan's we exchange old lamps for new. For the old battered, bandaged, and broken lamps of life which come in to us we exchange bright, new, shining lamps. These lamps are kept full with the oil of contentment; the wick of faith is kept trimmed, and the light which is beaming from those lamps is, I believe, going to illumine the whole world of the blind in such a way as it has never been illumined before. (Prolonged applause.)

The thanks of the club were extended to the speaker for his wonderfully instructive and interesting address.

THE FIGHT AT ZEEBRUGGE.

AN ADDRESS BY CAPTAIN A. F. E. CARPENTER,
V.C., H.M.S. VINDICTIVE.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 15, 1919.

CAPT. CARPENTER was received with loud applause and said: I am going to try and give you the story of what occurred at Zeebrugge, to the best of my ability. I am going to divide the lecture into two parts. In the first part I will endeavor to show you what our object was, and why; and secondly, the difficulties that we were up against.

When you have got a thorough idea of that, we shall have a short interval so that I can collect the remains of my voice—my name not being Caruso, (Laughter.) and then we will go on to part two; then I will endeavor to show you what we did, and the result. (Applause.)

Now, to illustrate this lecture I have some sixty slides and they are rather a mixed lot; some of them are only snap-shots; a great many of them are aerial photographs taken by our aeroplanes, some just before we went over, some just afterwards, and in a way I think they explain the story very well. We had no cinema men—lives could not be spared. (Laughter.) I always think with sympathy for the cinema men, because they follow me about. (Laughter.) These slides are not very artistic; the one on the screen now (a blank surface) is what they call the Davy's Locker slides—you cannot see it, nor could I;

Captain Carpenter was connected with the Dover Patrol throughout the War. He was the Commander of the Vindictive in the wonderful raid on Zeebrugge which had for its purpose the blocking of the canal to Bruges. Because of the success of the Zeebrugge action, one of the most spectacular and daring episodes in the history of the British Navy, Captain Carpenter emerges from the War as one of its outstanding heroes.

that is the German fleet going back to Kiel. (Laughter and applause.)

emerges from the War as one of its outstanding heroes.

This (a map) shows the land that was guarded the other day by England. Here is Dover. This is the southeast coast of England—Dover, where most of the ships came from; and here is Zeebrugge. Now, on this coast of Flanders there are no natural harbors; every harbor is artificial; they have been cut out of the shore by dredging, and the sand on this coast is continually on the move. As the tide goes one way, the sand goes with it; as the tide comes back, the sand moves back. The consequence is that all the shoals on the coast are continually moving, and it was only by continual surveying in peace times that we were able to navigate that coast in safety. During the war that coast has been in the hands of the Germans, and it was not possible for our craft to come in here and survey; therefore we had to take a very big navigation risk in moving about these waters, because we could not tell where the enemies were.

Beyond the harbors here (see Plate 1) was the main harbor that formed the bases for the Germans; it was made by dredging nine miles inland. That was the base for the mosquito craft, submarines and torpedo boats. That was their dock where they got all their fuel and repairs, because when they stayed at Zeebrugge they were generally dredging. Zeebrugge and Ostend were the two exits to the sea from Bruges, dredging being kept up by them for the canal. There is Bruges; here is the canal running out to Zeebrugge, and another canal running westward toward Ostend, and if we were to block the canal we had to block it at Zeebrugge and Ostend.

But this presented a very serious problem to us as to how we were going to do it. We used to try and cut them off when they came out. We used to try and hit their submarines when they came out, not always with success, and we tried every means we could to prevent their craft from doing any harm; but the loss of life was tremendous, and we came to the conclusion that there was only one way to do it, and that was *to block them in* so that they could not get out—and that is what we did. (Applause.)

On the particular night on which this operation came off, we tried to block both Zeebrugge and Ostend simultaneously. The Ostend operation actually failed owing to the weather turning against us very badly. It turned against us at Zeebrugge, but at Ostend it turned against us so much sooner that our craft could not find the entrance, and our operation failed in spite of the fact that it was very skillfully carried out by ship and men. We got the place partially blocked, but, as it turned out, it did not very much matter, because the Germans could not pass many ships through this tortuous, narrow, shallow channel to Ostend. So this was the main place, Zeebrugge, and this was the place we blocked.

This is the plan, (see Plates 1 and 2) a portion of the chart showing the entrance to the canal. Between that curved pier, which I call the left-hand curved pier, and the right-hand curved pier, lay the entrance to the harbor and the way to get into the canal. We had to come down between those piers, down this channel, through the creek, to get up to Bruges. This is the actual coast line at Zeebrugge, and flanking the whole thing was this now-famous Zeebrugge Mole which starts at the shoal there and ends up at the lighthouse. Any ship that would get into the canal had to come from the north through a dredged channel (from the end of the Mole to the entrance to the canal) and down through there. This entrance (between the piers at the entrance to the canal) is exceedingly narrow. Some people think it exceeds 400 yards from one side to the other. A ship must have a wide channel. This channel is narrow because you have got a great accumulation of sand on both sides between the piers right here, and at low tide the sand actually dries out right to the edge of that curved line (see Plate 2), so there is only water between where my pointer is and that point—only water there at all. It is just wet at this other point. You might say here there is one inch of water, and there five feet; in the middle there is twenty feet; then there is five feet, then one foot, then one inch, and then nothing. So it is only in the very centre of that channel that a ship can pass through.

This shows the left-hand pier and the right-hand pier and the channel; and this shows the sand actually dry. This photograph was taken at very low water; the actual navigable channel about here is very restricted, and very very narrow.

This is a German dredge at work, and probably a few hours before this photograph was taken, she had dredged out that base which you see here; a few hours afterwards there was probably just as much sand as there was before. It is only by continually dredging out here that you can keep the channel open.

This is a view taken at high tide, and shows the aspect when you are standing down on the shore of the canal looking out to sea. There is the right-hand pier, and there is the left-hand pier, and the mole in the distance ending up at the lighthouse. You see it is all wet from there to there. But though it is wet it does not mean that a ship can pass through; she can only pass through at the very centre. That has a very important bearing on this story.

The Mole plays a rather important part in this story; so I am going to describe it somewhat in detail. (See Plate 3 made from a drawing.) The first portion of the Mole, the nearest bit, which we were looking at in the last photograph, is this solid portion, coming out from the land. This of course is from an aerial photograph. This next portion is built up on piles like an ordinary pier; and then, finally, you see the broad part of the Mole, which I will show you in detail in a moment. Across this portion which connects the shore with the broad part of the Mole, runs a railway, and that railway afforded the Germans the quickest possible means of getting reinforcements on to the Mole in large numbers, if they were required; whereas, on the contrary, if we wished to prevent the Germans from getting on to the Mole in quick time, our best way to do it was to remove that railway. That is what we did. (Applause.)

This shows the Mole again, in another shape. Here is the railway running down along the sloping ditch and then going across this tall portion along to the broad part of the Mole.

This is a portion of the broad part of the Mole. It is one of the most colossal constructions of the kind in the world. There is certainly nothing in America to match it. It is a very wonderful bit of construction. The broad part of the Mole is eighty-one yards wide, and it is one and a quarter miles long.

On the outer side of it, which shows rather whiter than the rest, there is a high wall standing right up above the Mole itself. The top of this wall is actually twenty feet above the floor level of the Mole, and twenty-nine feet above the highest level that the sea ever reaches at the outside, that is, at high tide.

This wall was built there so as to prevent heavy seas from washing over the Mole and washing everything off it. It was built there just for shelter purposes. This wall plays a rather important part in the story. It was never intended that any ship should go alongside that wall; there is nothing there for any ship to secure to. The outside of the Mole is more or less round; inside here there are hoisting cranes and billets to secure to. This side is only nine feet out of water; this is the only proper side to go along—so we went on the other side. (Applause.)

That is a German destroyer alongside the Mole. This photograph was taken a few days before we went there. When we actually went there, as a matter of fact, there was a German destroyer lying in that very position. It was one of the favorite places for them to lie in. (Laughter.) The *Vindictive* happened to be very close to her; so of course we saw her. (Laughter.)

There is another German destroyer there. This was a German submarine shelter, a sort of concrete roof. The submarines used to lie underneath to prevent us from bombarding them from our aircraft.

This shows the Mole in a section. (See Plate 4.) Here is the highest tide, and twenty-nine feet above that is the top of the wall. Anyone wishing to get through there has to get up that twenty-nine-foot wall and drop four feet on to the top of the parapet, get over a little handrail on the inside, and then drop sixteen feet on to the

Mole. That is the way from this side—and that is what we did. (Applause.)

Here (see Plate 3) is this high wall going all the way along; the broad part of the Mole first, and then the Mole narrows out for 360 yards into a narrow bit which is hardly more, you might say, than a prolongation of this wall—just a continuation of that wall we have been talking about—a little bit broader, and that is all, and it ends at the lighthouse here; you can see the shape of the lighthouse.

In the extension of the Mole—what we call a lighthouse extension—there were seven guns, and these guns could fire in any direction. They could fire either out to sea or down this way towards the harbor—any way desired. And on the end of the broad part of the Mole they had three heavy guns—very nasty guns. Those guns were really the stumbling block of this operation. At the edge of the Mole, along this wall I told you about, they also had searchlights and guns, and on the inner side was a barge with some guns on it, and all surrounded with barbed wire, which you can actually see in the photographs. We used to photograph this place every few days, to make sure they had not put in anything fresh. There was a long line of barges placed there, moored in such a way as to form a sort of boom, to prevent small craft from coming into the harbor at night; and they had torpedo boat destroyers alongside.

Then, in this portion there was a succession of buoys, actually seven of them. The faint line showing in between these lines is the line of entanglements, nets, etc., placed there in such a way that, if any ship attempted to cross over that portion of the water, she would get nets entangled round her screws, her engines would come to a standstill, and she would be disabled. Any ship wishing to get into the canal had to come round the lighthouse there and pass between that barge and the northern end of those nets; in other words, down that line, approximately there, right within point blank range of those three heavy guns.

Now we wanted to get a number of the ships into this ideal position to block the canal entrance, but those very heavy guns made it actually impossible. A ship cannot pass at point blank range of heavy guns. In thirty seconds she would disappear. For that reason, and for that reason alone, the *Vindictive* went to storm the Mole and capture those very heavy guns before the block ships arrived. (Loud applause.) Some people think we went there to make another tradition for the British Navy or for advertising—a stunt; that horrible word *stunt.* It was not. We went there for a definite purpose, and that was, to knock out their guns—and that is what we did. (Applause.)

Now, all this inside part of the Mole was untenable for that purpose. They have got barbed wire here—you can see it in the photograph. They had trenches, they had guns in odd positions here, and guns along the top of that wall at intervals. The actual garrison, according to the information we got, was a thousand men. They were taking no chances. Once, there was a man called Achilles who decided upon taking the chance; he covered himself all over with armour but forgot his heel, and he got beaten. (Laughter.) The Germans forgot one thing—they forgot that a ship might go along the outside of that Mole—and that is what we did, (Applause.) and that is where we had them.

I want to describe to you for a moment what the duel between us away out here on the face of the Mole and this battery of seven guns seemed like. A ship steaming one thousand yards off is now-a-days at point blank range. I tell you that in our gunnery practice we used to fire shots at a target less in size than the lit-up part of this screen; and at a thousand yards we used to fire twelve rounds in one minute and get twelve hits. (Applause.) Well, if you can hit a thing of that small size twelve times in one minute with one gun, how easy it is to hit a ship one hundred and twenty yards long. Imagine a ship like the *Vindictive,* 120 yards long, steaming within point blank range of this battery. She is firing at the battery. All she sees of each gun is just a muzzle of the gun seen over the top of the wall. What is her chance of hitting that gun? Why, it is absolutely nix. (Laughter.) If she hit one of those guns, it would be by a fluke. But what about that gun? That gun is firing at a sheer point blank range, at a ship 120 yards long; she can't miss the ship except by a fluke. (Laughter.) Those guns can't miss a ship except by a fluke, and the ship can't hit them except by a fluke. (Laughter.) Is that fair? That would be the state in a duel between a ship passing this battery, and those seven guns—and that is what we did. (Applause.)

Now, in addition to those guns in the battery on the Mole, we had also the obstacle of the guns on the coast. The Germans had the whole coast well fortified. I don't suppose in the history of war there has been a short coast so well fortified. They had on that stretch of coast 235 guns, and out of those 235 coast-defence guns 136 of them were heavy guns, that is guns of over six-inch calibre. Those guns used to worry our ships out here, at a range of 42,000 yards, which is 23 miles. In the early days we used to bombard these shores at 10,000 yards, and then they got guns that bombarded us at 15,000 yards. Then we got guns that would bombard at 20,000 yards, and finally, just before we got to Zeebrugge, we bombarded them at 48,000 yards. (Applause.) That is rather over twenty-seven miles.

I may tell you these guns made it absolutely impossible for any ship to wander off here during daylight. What about night? Perhaps she would be safe wandering off here at night as regards the guns themselves, but what happens when she gets in close? When she gets partly in, off goes a star-shell that lights up the whole place, and they blow her out of the water in a moment. How we were to get by in the face of those guns was a serious question.

But there were other things to consider in addition to those guns. Out here, for sixteen miles they had all the waters very heavily mined. They had mine fields all over the place here. Of course they had channels through them, and some people imagined we knew those channels and would go through them. It is absolutely ridiculous to make such a suggestion, because no naval force is able to depend on any information it gets with regard to positions of enemy channels. It may be false and may prove most dangerous. We might start down on our trip and find out we were going over mines half the way. But there is an alternative, and that is to come in with your own mine sweepers and sweep your own channel, which is a very slow process; and the enemy would see you doing it, and that gives the whole thing away. Or, you chance it—and we chanced it. (Applause.)

But that was not all. They had their patrol craft out here continually, and especially at night, and those patrol craft used to go out through their own safe channels and patrol about outside. We were always trying to cut those fellows off. We had some rare tustles once or twice, and of course they always ran away immediately; immediately they saw us coming they ran, all of them—they always will. (Applause.)

These patrol craft, that is destroyers and trawlers and motor boats and torpedo boats, and so on, used to be out here. We always had a patrol out there too, whose chief purpose in life was to cut off their patrol; and our patrol was out there day and night in every weather, and their submarines used to come out and sink our fellows. Another thing we had to consider was their aircraft, which used to run from Zeebrugge, the most important aeroplane station in Flanders. They used to come out there and wander about, looking for any expedition coming across. If they saw us coming, all they had to do was to warn the defences that we were coming, and put down a few parcels of mines in the places where otherwise we might get through, and the whole thing would be a fiasco—not a failure, but a fiasco. So I think you will agree that to conduct any operation on the enemy's coast under conditions in modern warfare is by no means an easy task.

I may tell you that the task was looked upon as impossible. It was looked upon as ridiculous and fantastic to attempt to do any such thing, until we decided that we might be able to do it under cover of smoke. The use of smoke had been tremendously developed during this

CAPTAIN A. F. E. CARPENTER, V.C.
H.M.S. Vindictive

war, and we thought if we got very suitable conditions, with a light wind blowing towards the shore, we would be able to make our artificial fog out here and the fog would move slowly in front of us, and we would come in behind it and try events out. It looks awfully simple, but as a matter of fact it is not so simple; for your fog thus hiding you from the enemy is hiding the places you want to go to. Besides you have to have a certain period when the fog has gone inland and while you are looking for your places, you are exposed to the fire of their batteries. So that the use of smoke is not going to save you altogether from the shore batteries; it merely allows you to get fairly close before they see you. It was on that use of smoke that this operation was based. It was by means of smoke that we decided to do it, and by no other. I would not under any condition whatever declare my intention of attempting this thing without the smoke, and that means without the wind blowing toward the shore.

These are two of the German guns on the coast; they were on about every hundred yards along the coast. These photographs were taken immediately after we got the coast back.

There is the *Vindictive* before she was fitted out. She is a very old ship, about twenty years old, and she has done good work in her time. During this war she was employed up in the White Sea, among the ice, and had really done quite good work, and she was just about finished. We looked upon her as virtually dead when she was chosen for this operation. A very handy ship she was—very quick to turn, quick to stop and start. You couldn't have got a more ideal ship probably anywhere. This is before she fitted out. Two masts.

This is after she was fitted out—half a mast, you see. We cut the mast off there and we had this sort of sighting top built on the mast, and in that top we had guns. Now, I told you that the outer wall of the Mole was twenty-nine feet above the water; so any guns in this ship less than twenty-nine feet above the water could not fire on to the Mole when you went alongside. That is the reason why we had guns placed up there, about fifty feet above the water, and they played a very important part in the story, as we shall learn presently.

These black things sticking up here are not funnels but gangways. We had a number of gangways built at that sort of angle, sticking out over the side of the ship, the idea being that when we got alongside the wall we could lower the gangways on to the wall and the men could run up them and get on the top of the wall, drop four feet on to the parapet, climb up over the hand rails, drop ten feet on to the Mole itself, and then start to business. (Applause.)

We had one or two other contrivances on board, like flame-throwers. We had one there and one here. The Germans seemed to be very fond of flame-throwers and we thought we would let them know what they were like. They invented them.

Here we have the *Iris* and *Daffodil,* the other two ships that helped us. They were two Liverpool ferry boats which used to run across the river Mersey to take passengers over, about ten-minute trips, and then tie up on the other side and wait till passengers came aboard. That is what they were intended for, but that night they steamed over 180 miles. (Applause.) The reason why we had these craft was this—we did not put all our eggs in one basket. The chances of the *Vindictive* being mined long before she got to the Mole were very great; the chances of her being sunk were also very great; so we decided we would take these two; they would follow behind, and, if the *Vindictive* was sunk close in, they would go on with the work of storming the Mole, and in any event they would lend their assistance.

We had three block ships and the *Vindictive,* the *Iris* and the *Daffodil.* The number of ships engaged in the operation was 156—specially detailed for this operation. The majority of those, I suppose, were motor launches and motor boats. The motor launches were chiefly for making smoke. The motor boats were for other things. We had made a great many destroyers, and those destroyers had to guard us against any attack in the sea and support our motor boats in case of their being a fight inside. This is a destroyer. This is rather an interesting photograph, as a matter of fact. That is a photograph of a destroyer which has just put a depth charge on a submarine, and that is the oil on the surface. (Applause.) That is one of the photographs that is going to the Naval Photograph Exhibition, colored, which is to come around this continent. I understand they are coming up to Canada very shortly.

Here are two motor launches. They are very small craft. One hardly sees a shell hitting one of those craft; they are very light and small, and very swift in their work. Whenever we had an operation of this kind, there was always a chance that we would have a few light craft running off and about the enemy's coast, and we had always to face the chances that the enemy might have a sudden rush of courage, (Laughter.) and might send their heavy ships to put our ships off their coast—there was always a chance that they might. Whenever anything like that was going on, our grand fleet was waiting. We had tried in every way we could to get those fellows out; month after month we came out there continually to cut those fellows off in case they might have a sudden rush of courage to the head. (Laughter.) It came at last, and a pretty tremendous venture it was. People often ask me what I think of the German fleet, and I always say the same thing; I always say they never had any traditions, and now they have got one less. (Laughter.)

That shows one of the battleships, and a destroyer in the middle.

Here is a photograph showing the destroyers making a smoke screen, but in the smoke you cannot see the destroyer. There are four there. One is coming straight towards you, and this fellow here is belching smoke.

What did our success depend on? Did it depend on the material, or the work in directing the plan, or the weather, or the guns, or the parapets, or smoke? No, it depended on the men. (Applause.) There is one of them in this room here with me now. (Loud applause.) Those men were fine fellows, the finest men I have ever known in my life. I don't know very much, I have not been in action very much, but I do know from what other fellows have told me that there are thousands more men like these. (Applause.) When I speak about my men, please don't imagine that I believe they are the salt of the earth and that there are no others like them. We had rare trouble about those men: the trouble was how to get the right men to volunteer. To get volunteers, as a general rule, you have to tell them what you want them to do, and ask them if they will volunteer for it. Now, we could not do that, because we had to keep this thing absolutely secret. If the secret of this thing had leaked out, it would have been an absolute fiasco. What we did was, we chose a certain number of reliable men from each ship, a certain number of officers from each squadron, put them through intensive training, and then, when we got them ready, we put them out from the crowd where they could hold no communication with anybody whatever. Then we told them the secret. Soon as we told them what we were going to do, we gave them the option to go. I said to my men: "If any man on board here now, knowing what he is in for, wishes to withdraw, all he has got to do is to give his name in and go; he will not be asked for any reason why he wants to go, and he will not be allowed to give any reason why he wants to go; give his name in and go." Not a single man went. (Loud applause.)

Here are two more. (Laughter.) Those men had to wear gas masks, and they had to carry many curious implements of warfare, and they had to learn new tricks; all sorts of extraordinary things. They used to come charging around the corner with fixed bayonets, and once they nearly frightened me out of my life. What with their ugly faces and their weapons, they were a positive danger. They were keen, and we worked them up and gingered them up until those men would have gone through hell itself. They were just as keen as mustard. I used to take my men into my confidence every moment, tell them what the latest weather report was, what the chances were of going, and give them every single item of information about the thing. We had no secrets of any kind whatever from our men; we told them every single item they wished to know and needed to know; and it was very well that we did, because so many officers were killed that the men had to depend on themselves. (Applause.)

This photograph shows the *Vindictive* actually starting on this trip. It was just a little photograph after she got steam up and was starting to cross. We made three attempts at this operation. On the 12th of September we got within three miles of Zeebrugge. The wind had been blowing towards the shore and favoring the use of smoke, and then it veered and began to blow straight off the shore, and to go without the smoke would have been like sending the men to certain slaughter. Vice Admiral Sir Roger Keyes, the night of the operation had to decide what he would do. We had got all those ships out, at tremendous trouble, all that distance. It seemed to be only a stone's throw to Zeebrugge, and the wind had gone wrong. Everything else was favorable, and as the aircraft, to divert the attention of the Germans, were going to do an aerial attack at the same time as our attack, they started across and could not be recalled. They did the whole aerial attack on that night as if the whole operation had come off, and we learned that their attack was most tremendous, as the men came down 4,000 feet and bombarded the Mole, and the battery work was perfectly splendid. However, we had to turn back, and when we turned around, we had a large number of ships there, and they had a little bit of what you might call melee.

Ships turning around in the middle of the night, at half past one in the morning, are apt to run into one another, and one small motor boat got run into and got a nasty hole in the bow, and one man went forward and sat in the hole to keep the boat afloat. When the men started the boat up and speed was getting up, the bow of the motor boat came out of the water—instead of going along the level they go along at an angle, and the bows are actually out of the water. When they got up to twenty-seven knots the bows came out of the water, the hole was then out of the water, so the man removed himself

(Laughter.) and took up a more comfortable position elsewhere, (Laughter.) and the motor boat went on its way. The Captain of that boat was not very certain of his position, so he decided to stick by the *Vindictive,* but he had got up to a speed of twenty-seven knots and we were only going ten, so he steamed round and round the *Vindictive* the whole of that night.

On the way across we had to tow small craft. It was absolutely necessary that everybody should arrive fresh for the operation of Zeebrugge. The small craft carried very few people, and if these were to keep watch on the way across they would not be at their best on arrival, so we towed all the small craft over. This is one of the supplementaries, being towed. It looks like an aeroplane but it is not; it is a submarine. This is the conning tower; the remainder is more or less under water. They put spars right across the conning tower, and two small rowing motor dinghies are slung underneath.

I have not mentioned anything about submarines, but what we intended to use them for was to remove that railway which ran from the shore out to the Mole. The idea was that they would be full of explosives. They were to steal under the viaduct of that railway, secure up underneath, light their time fuse, the submarine itself being full of light material; then the men were to get into their little motor skiff and run away. Meantime the submarine would make its way ahead and remove the viaduct of the railway. I will tell you what happened later.

Now I must tell you about the second attempt we made. We went about thirty-eight miles, and the small craft could not face the heavy sea. So it was necessary for us to turn back. You can imagine the feelings of the officers and men. We had been waiting, training here, waiting for a long time for this operation; we were very anxious to put it across; we were very anxious that the Germans should not know about it. Every day that it was put off gave the greater chance of it leaking out, because the different steamers were passed at sea, and that waiting between times was a very anxious period. The spirit of the men was very fine.

But at last we had our third chance. They say three is lucky, and by jove it was lucky that night. We were to meet at the point marked "G." (See Plate 1.)

The block ships and the *Vindictive* came from up here somewhere in the North Sea, and most of the small craft came from Dover, and we all met there (indicating) about five o'clock one evening. We went across this line. Some came direct up this way, and others came from Dunkirk and went up here, and they went up there to a position from which they were going to bombard. The idea was that we were going to give the Germans as much to think about on that night as we possibly could. We had started doing it about a month beforehand. We started educating them up to this operation. We would make aerial attacks, and when they got used to them, we would give them a long range bombardment; and when they got used to that, we would give them both at once; and when they got used to both at once, we would give them both at once and perhaps something else; and then we would give them only an aerial attack; and so on;—the idea being that when it came to the night of the operation they would think, "it is the same old aerial attack" or "it is the same old bombardment" and they would not think anything else was going to occur. It worked very well. (Applause.)

When we came down from the north, as we had to do, things went fairly right until we got about sixteen miles out. At that position (indicating) we were going to stop and get out all the surplus of the block ship crews, the idea being that the block ships should go in only with the minimum number of men, which we considered should be fifty-three per ship. Each ship actually carried eighty-seven, the other thirty-four being required to do all the work on the way across, so that every man of the fifty-three should be fresh for the hectic part of the show, when we got there. In one of the ships these thirty-four men mutinied. The captain, who was a very tactful young officer, had them up and told them of the arrangement, and there was grave insubordination. But, though he admired their spirit, all he could do was to allow six of them to stay as an extra gun's crew, and the thirty-four men together drew lots to see which of them should form part of that six. The remaining twenty-eight would have to go back. When we got out to within five miles of the Mole, we all stopped to take the twenty-eight men off this ship and thirty-four off each of the other two. What actually occurred in the first case was that the small craft which came alongside had broken down, with the result that none of the men were taken off and the ship went in with the whole eighty-seven of her crew; and incidentally we got the whole eighty-seven back. (Applause.) In the case of the other two there was no mutiny, and the small craft came alongside to take them off, but, as you would naturally expect, not a single one of the men could be found. (Laughter.) The whole eighty-seven went in, and we got the whole lot back.

Now it came on to rain very hard soon after that, and the air craft could not come out; so that the whole of our aircraft attack failed. It was a most unfortunate thing because we were depending a lot on them. We had been using them as a part in the education of the Germans beforehand. But the aircraft could not appear; it was quite impossible for them to face the rain, although they did their very best. Very fine work they had done on the two previous attempts; every day, in fact, before and every day since—very fine.

The next thing was that, as a result of the rain there was a lot of mist, and the ships, when they came to make the range for the bombardment with the heavy guns, could not find the buoy which marked the range, and they did not start the affair until twenty minutes late. The next thing was that the *Vindictive* herself was to conduct the *Iris* and the *Daffodil* to make sure that they arrived (Laughter.) and the idea was to show them all the way across, and then how to do their job, but before we got through we found they were left behind. The fourth thing that happened was the direction of the wind. Twenty minutes before we got to the Mole the wind suddenly died down and then blew straight off shore. This fourth thing that we had considered as necessary to make the operation possible, namely, the wind playing towards the shore, had failed us. There was the alternative; we might have divided up and gone home again. It would have been a very difficult thing to do because we were very close; and if the order had been given I do not think the men would have obeyed. The other thing was to go on and attempt what we always considered impossible—and we did it. (Applause.)

Now, this operation was based on timing. We had all these larger craft, and we could not make signals every few minutes to the various people and tell them what to do. We laid down their orders and instructions as to what they were to do, and as far as possible they were instructions that gave them the idea of the sort of thing they were to do. Then we gave them the time by the clock at which they were to fix the doing or otherwise of the tasks, and from then on they were thrown on their own initiative and they were looked to to see that nothing went wrong. It was the very fact that we made these orders so elastic, and that we depended so much on the initiative, more than people usually do, that made this thing a success. (Applause.)

The *Vindictive* was due at the Mole at midnight. The actual length of the trip is 105 miles, and the time we arrived there was registered in the engine room where they kept the time of the movement of the engines and we arrived at one minute past twelve. (Applause.) Now I say we were due there at midnight. The block ships were due here, the far end of the Mole, at twenty minutes past twelve, and we had to get alongside, get the men out, fight our way out, knock those three big guns out before twenty minutes past twelve. Now, the *Vindictive* came down from the north, and the first thing that we saw—the smoke, mind you, had got in towards the shore and was driving back with the change of wind—the first thing we saw when we came out of the smoke was this battery of seven guns at the end of the Mole. That was 300 yards ahead. We went full speed ahead with full engines, went on to do this in the face actually of great chances, and got alongside, and in passing this battery we passed this first gun here about three hundred yards off, and we passed this last gun here about fifty yards off. Now I told you beforehand that a duel between a ship and that battery of guns was unequal, unfair, even at point blank range, which I judge was a thousand yards. Imagine what it was like at a radius of three hundred yards and fifty yards. Now, I do not know, but I believe myself to-day that we were so very near to them that that fact saved us, because though they hit us a tremendous number of times as we ran past the battery, they never hit us anywhere that mattered very much; whereas if we had been a little farther off the chances are that their firing would have been more deliberate and more careful and they would have fired at the water line, and the ship would have sunk immediately. As it was, they merely fired on the same level as the gun, with the result that the damage done to the ship was not material, but the damage they did to my personnel was a very serious matter. The officers themselves would not stay down below, as I told them to do, but preferred to stay up where the gangway ran up over the ship's side so as to be ready to lead the men over the gangway when the signal was given, (Applause.) with the result that as the steamer passed the battery these officers standing up on that deck got the full blast of the powder and four of the storming party were killed and another very severely wounded before we got alongside. We got alongside here, and the *Daffodil,* in accordance with her orders, came down from the north; she cut off the corner; she had been left behind and came in and started pushing us right alongside the wall at right angles to us. The idea was that she was to push us alongside, and make certain that our grappling irons and gangways would reach the Mole. We had these big claw grappling irons, and they did their job well and kept the ship close alongside. There was one thing upset all our calculations; there was a very heavy sea alongside—a thing we had never expected—and the result was that the ship was rolling a great deal and those grappling irons were all smashed up. We had then nothing to grapple with and reluctantly I had to give orders to the *Daffodil* to keep on pushing, and she kept us there through the whole hour and ten minutes that we were there. The little *Iris* went along the Mole, about a hundred yards ahead of us, and tried to get her men on to the Mole, but owing to the heavy sea, and having a much smaller craft than we, they could not make secure to the Mole. They tried to get the grappling irons over the top, and one man held an ordinary lever up and another tried to fix the grappling iron. He was on top of the wall, and he fell into the sea between the Mole and the ship. A boat's officer went for him, but they were both lost. The *Iris* then came alongside of us, the idea being to send her crew out over the *Vindictive* and on to the Mole. The Captain of that ship was one Ballantyne Cullis, whom I have known since he was a small boy, and he was one of the finest sailors in every respect that I have known. He only thought of one thing, and that was to bring us alongside that Mole; there was not another thought in his mind. (Applause.) Well, he was alongside my ship here, and a heavy shell came in and knocked out fifty-eight men of the sixty-seven who were down below for orders. Another shell took off both Ballantyne Cullis' legs, and each time reports came in he went on asking the same question about how things were going until he died. (Applause.)

The actual position of the *Vindictive* was here (see Plate 3) and as usual there was a German destroyer there. Now, that German destroyer was only the breadth of the Mole away from us, and the consequence was we hit her; we hit her very often and we sunk her. (Applause.)

Now, this picture (see Plate 4) is done from a war painting which is in my possession. It was done by an artist who asked me if I would accept it, and if anything was wrong would I put it right. I sent it back actually five times and told him what the mistakes were. I attached photograph and sketches and a lot of written stuff and the result is absolutely correct in every detail.

There is a ship along the Mole. Now, during the run past, our gangways—we had fourteen of them—were sticking through the side, and this will give you some idea of how we were hit. They left us with four, and two of those were so severely damaged they could not reach the Mole; we had to get them in and repair them and get them out again eventually and to offer the remainder to the men storming the Mole. Gangways came down on the Mole like that, and the men went through on them. (Applause.)

All this part of the ship, the funnels and the fighting top and so on, were showing over the Mole, and mostly those things suffered tremendous hits. Here you see where they had been hitting us every second, and the shots were coming in every direction. The Germans were finding shots coming, and did not know where they came from.

Now this picture is very inaccurate, because it shows all the gangways—I took this out of one of the illustrated papers; but the idea of the gangways and men going up is very good. The first men to go out were the seamen; the seamen led the storming of the Mole, (Applause.) and in addition to all their other accoutrements they carried these ladders, and when they got over the parapet they used these to get down the other side of the wall, so that those who were following could get down on to the floor of the Mole quickly. As the men were shouldering the ladders below, we went to the side of the Mole and then we put the gangways up and they ran up the gangways, and the way they did so was perfectly magnificent. There is a story I sometimes tell of how I saw the ladder down there and the men of one division at the top, and one man in passing said "That is Mr. so and so"—naming an officer—"he has just had his left arm shot off": and the moment this youngster heard it he put his right hand up and waived it to me and said "Best of luck, sir, best of luck." (Applause.) That was the sort of spirit there was right through this thing. The men were perfectly splendid and the officers were splendid. The men had absolute confidence in their officers, and the officers had absolute confidence in their men. They were perfectly splendid. (Applause.) But if I started to tell you little personal stories of that kind, I should be going all afternoon, and we must get on to other things.

All this was carried out under an extremely heavy fire, both machine gun and shell, and the way those men got down those ladders carrying all their accoutrements with their backs to the enemy, and not knowing what was waiting for them at the bottom, was very fine. You can imagine going down a sixteen foot ladder and not knowing what is waiting for you at the bottom. The getting down is one thing, the getting up was another. I will refer to that in a moment. After those men were down on the Mole they had to make their way along the Mole past this parapet where the machine guns were; they had to double on their tracks in one or two places, but they got to this point where the guns were, and we had one of those guns knocked out at eighteen minutes past twelve. (Loud applause.) Now, when it came to the time for those men on the Mole to come back, they had a signal from the ship to come back finally, and they had to get up those ladders again. Now, there were 400 men on that Mole. Out of this 400 a certain number were killed, and a very fair percentage of them were disabled, so far disabled that they could not get up the sixteen foot ladder; but although so many of those men were killed or disabled, yet their bodies or the men themselves got back on board because they were carried up those ladders by their friends. (Applause.) Now, anything finer than carrying the men up ladders like that under heavy shell fire and machine gun fire I think is difficult to imagine, and if those men, every one of them, did not deserve the Victoria Cross, I don't know who did. (Applause.) But you cannot give every man the Victoria Cross, so what they did was this. As regards the marines, they called them all in and they were to vote, every marine of the *Vindictive, Iris* and *Daffodil,* as to which one should have the Victoria Cross, and the man they voted for was not one of the men who got down on the Mole, but a man up there in the fighting top belonging to a regiment of the Royal Artillery. And I may tell you what he did. In that fighting top were eight men around the guns, and they caused tremendous damage on the Mole. They struck the destroyer on the side; they set the sheds afire; they struck those heavy guns from behind; they did a great deal of execution. Acting with the crews, they put down barrages along the Mole so that our men could advance, and so on. The Germans soon discovered what was causing the trouble, and they concentrated their fire on the offending chaps. They hit them with a lot of small stuff, and with heavy things, and they killed every man in the top but one man. That one man was severely wounded. He got out, went around and examined the one remaining gun, found it was in good order and went on with the fight until a further shell went up and knocked him out. (Loud applause.) I am glad to say he was not killed. He got the Victoria Cross and he is alive.

I got one or two photographs to show the damage to the *Vindictive.* This is one of the funnels. It looks like a lot of holes joined together by bits of iron. (Laughter.) Now, you know a bullet coming along may go through you and hurt you, but when a shell comes along and cuts away a big chunk of iron like this, and that big chunk of iron comes along with great velocity and hits a man, it will cut him clean in half. That is the danger we suffered; we had these chunks coming down and flying all over the ship.

Here is another bit. This is the mast here, and this is the underside of the fighting top: that is the bridge, chart house, and so on. The quartermaster was nearly cut in half by a heavy shell. All this portion of the ship was very nearly smashed up, and a heavy shell got into the chart house. Nearly everybody on this deck was killed; very few men could manage to get back. I had some very unpleasant experiences here. I do not want to go into them in detail, because the details are rather gruesome and nasty as a rule, but there is nothing nasty in this one. The quartermaster and my first lieutenant were standing there talking to me; we were discussing whether it was possible for another man to get back, when a heavy shell came and burst alongside of us, and we were all hit. Mine was nothing; I just got a little one in the shoulder.

My lieutenant was shot through two legs, and he continued to stand up and carry on his duty for the next four hours. (Applause.) The result of the hit was that he was lame for six months. The quartermaster was injured in the arm, and I, as I have stated. So I had to do some amateur steering myself. I had been cursing the men on the way over in regard to steering, and when I went back myself, it was a damn sight worse. (Laughter and applause.)

There is another of the funnels. That was struck on the side away from the Mole, and those holes are made by something that went clean through everything.

That is a photograph of the gangway. These photographs were taken about nine hours after we left Zeebrugge Mole.

That is the fighting top, showing over the bridge, sitting up near the bows of the ship. You know the bows of the ship are the sharp ends. (Laughter.)

There is a gun. The gun crew consists of ten men. It was a howitzer, and we were going to launch a shell over the wall into the shed. The guns' crew was there, thinking they could not be hit, but a shell came in and killed the whole ten. They got another crew, and a shell came through and killed seven men out of ten. We told off a third gun crew, and they examined that gun and found it was knocked out; it was useless, and they went about their jobs.

This hut here was the one we had the big flamethrower in. It was just like sheets of iron put together to prevent any back fire. We tried a rifle bullet on this thing before we started, and the rifle bullet went clean through it, but it made a very good place for conning the ship from, because it was right up near the ship's side, and when you are taking a ship alongside the wall it is the very best place, and we had this right on our ship's side, because you can see the whole length of your ship, and you can see whether you are going to get the path or not. I had a little shelter made up there, and I stood up and looked through there. It was only five feet above the wall, and a very good position, so that I could recognize the wall, and know where on the Mole I was. I had one officer there with me, and the place was full of sparks, and that is all I can tell you. What made the sparks I don't know. Neither of us was hit, but we were both hit on our clothes and knocked about considerably. My best relic, as a matter of fact, is my cap, but I do not like to boast too much about these things, because every slacker that has been out at the front has the same thing. He has tunics with holes in them, and boots with holes in them. My men counted the holes in that place and found two hundred of them. Of course, I was only in that place part of my time.

Now five minutes after we got alongside, a submarine arrived "according to plan" as the Germans say, and ran into the viaduct here, got in underneath the viaduct though they were rather heavily fired on at one time. The Germans came running from the shore along the top of the viaduct here and started firing at a range of fifteen feet. Having secured the submarine underneath, our men lighted the time fuse and then got out into a little motor skiff and started off the engine, and the first thing they discovered was that the propeller had come off. There was a heavy tide running in this direction, and they had only a couple of paddles, but they got out the paddles and started away under a terrific fire in this direction. When they had gone about three hundred yards, off went the explosion; the submarine went up, the viaduct went up, the railway went up, and the Germans on the railway went up. (Applause.)

The submarine's crew of three officers and three men went into what, I personally consider, was absolutely certain death. They could not imagine for one instant that any of them could ever get back. It was purely a miracle we got the whole of them back, the three officers and the three men. Three of them were very severely wounded. The captain of the submarine himself was very dangerously wounded, but he recovered and they gave him the Victoria Cross. I am very sorry to say I have just had information that he has died of typhoid. Oh, a terrible thing.

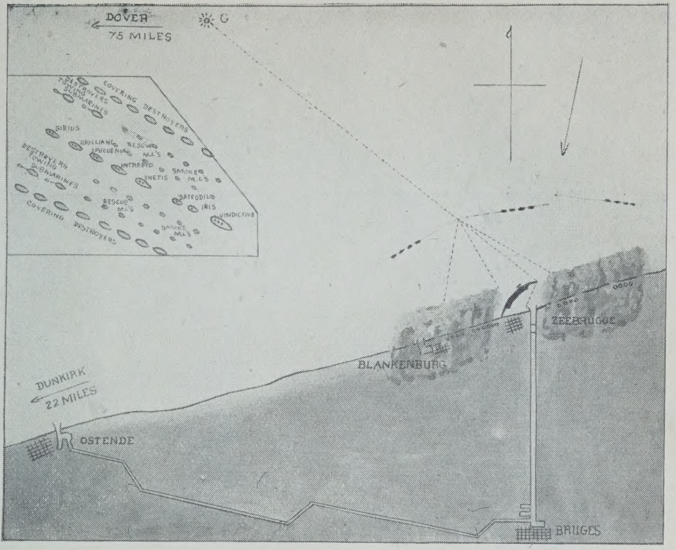
DOVER
75 MILES
G
DESTROYERS TOWING SUBMARINES
COVERING DESTROYERS
SIRIUS
BRILLIANT
IPHEGENIA
RESCUE M.L'S
INTREPID
THETIS
SMOKE M.L'S
DESTROYERS TOWING SUBMARINES
RESCUE M.L'S
DAFFODIL
IRIS
VINDICTIVE
COVERING DESTROYERS
SMOKE M.L'S
BLANKENBURG
ZEEBRUGGE
DUNKIRK
22 MILES
OSTENDE
BRUGES

Plate 1—Shore, Zeebrugge-Ostend, showing Canals to Bruges.

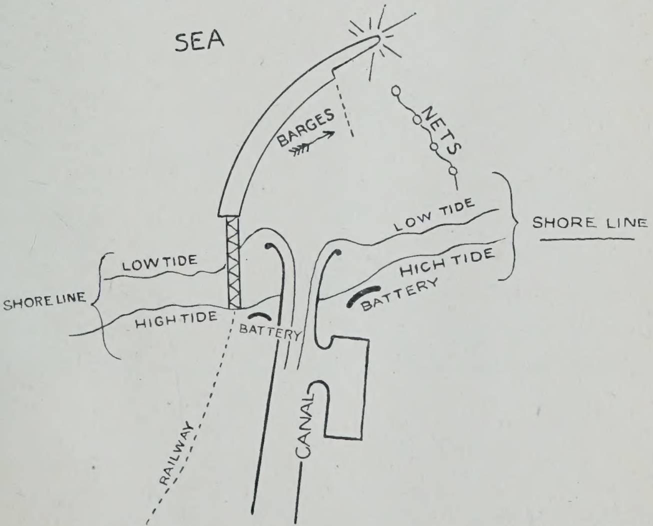
SEA
BARGES
NETS
LOW TIDE
SHORE LINE
HIGH TIDE
BATTERY
LOW TIDE
SHORE LINE
HIGH TIDE
BATTERY
RAILWAY
CANAL

Plate 2—Entrance to the Canal at Zeebrugge.

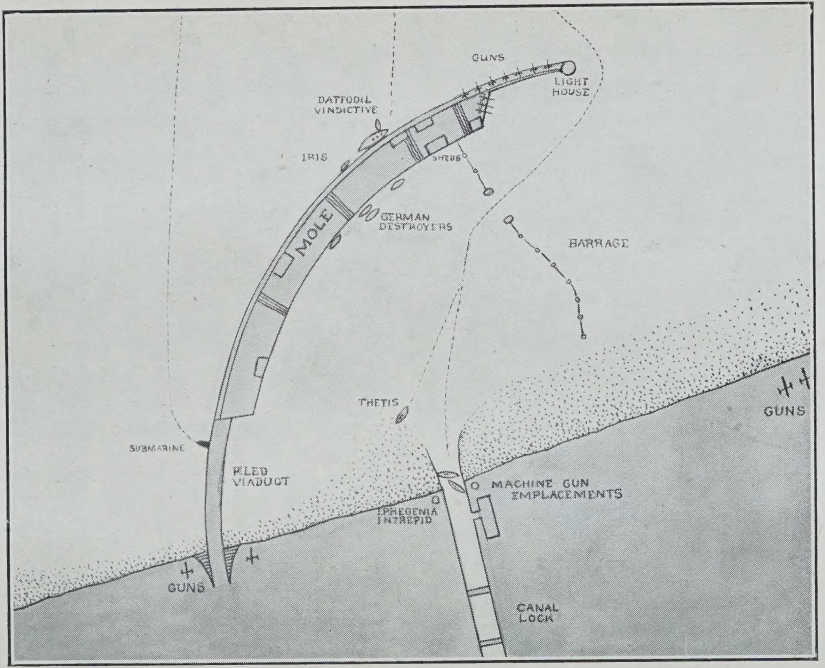
GUNS
LIGHT HOUSE
DATFODIL VINDICTIVE
IRIS
SHEDS
MOLE
GERMAN DESTROYERS
BARRAGE
THETIS
SUBMARINE
PILED VIADUCT
MACHINE GUN EMPLACEMENTS
IPHEGENIA INTREPID
GUNS
GUNS
CANAL LOCK

Plate 3—The Mole with details

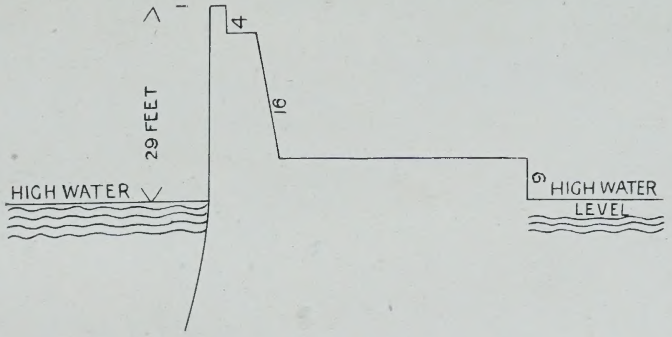
29 FEET
4
16
9
HIGH WATER
HIGH WATER
LEVEL

Plate 4—Cross Section of the Mole.

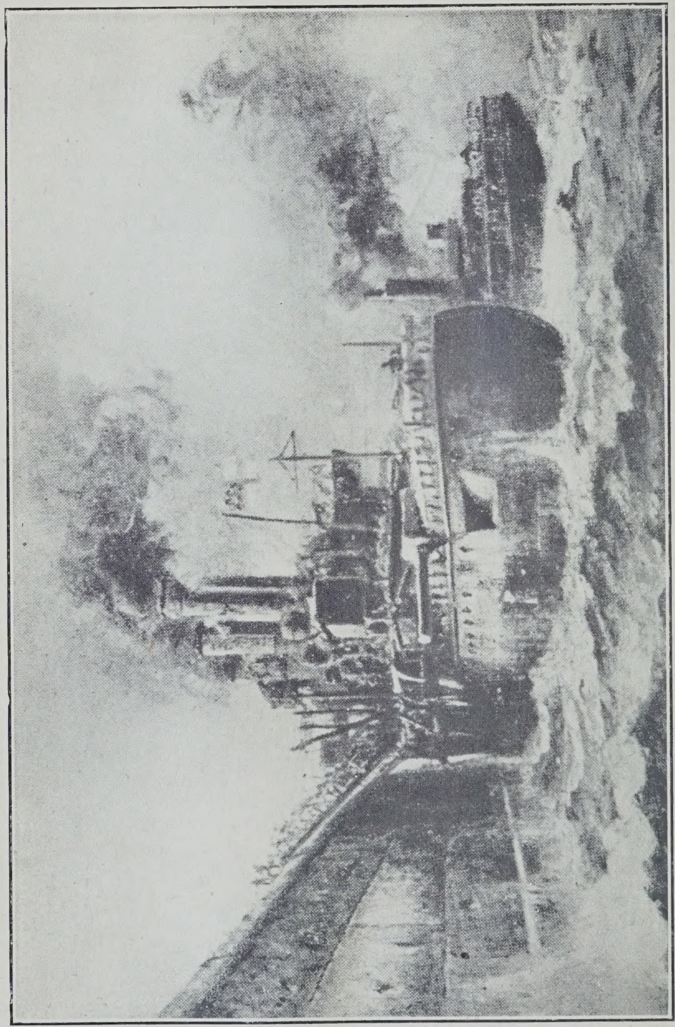

Plate 5—The *Vindictive* at the Mole.

Here is a photograph of the break in the viaduct of 105 feet. That damage to the railway was a very serious thing to them, not only on the night of the operation, but it prevented reinforcements from coming to them all the rest of the time, because they could not get any heavy stores after that to the Mole—ammunition and aeroplanes and that sort of thing—unless they did it by boat, which was very inconvenient. That is where the submarine stopped up the railway. So much for the *Vindictive, Iris* and *Daffodil.*

Now, the block ships arrived here just on time, twenty minutes past twelve. The first one—the *Thetis*—got entangled with these nets, and it was fired at by these guns. She got down here, she struggled out, and all the engines came to a standstill; and then they had a hurried consultation as to what to do. They were being very heavily fired at by the batteries here, and here, and here, (on the shore) those batteries of 12-inch and 11-inch guns. It was those same guns that bombarded the Mole here as soon as they found out where we were—regardless of whether they killed their own people or smashed up their own Mole or not.

Having got the engines started again they got her off the mud and worked her down as far as they could, and then sank her. (See Plate 3.) These three block ships were fitted with bombs inside, with mines, and all we had to do was to press a button and the mines would go off and the bottom of the ship would leave its supports. We had good success blocking, as we could operate the mines and the bottoms of the ships fell out very quickly. The commander of the ship pressed the button, the bottom of the ship fell out, and she sank, and she is still there. He had aimed at getting in here but if he had aimed at getting his ship outside he could hardly have got a better position. That ship caused them endless trouble; I will go further and say this, that that ship is in such a bad position—or good, if you like to put it that way—in the way of blocking that channel, that I don't believe that anybody—British, Belgians, Germans or anybody else—will ever remove that ship. I may be wrong, but I don't believe that ship will ever be moved. The only way I can see to get rid of her is to dig her right in—suck all the sand underneath her and bury her about thirty or forty feet.

After the ship had sunk and the bridge and upper deck were under water, the commander did not think even then that his work had ended, and so he settled down to make signals to the other two blockships following in, down this way, and inform them where the entrance to the canal was. There was very fine co-operation between that ship and the others. Remember, this was all in the middle of the night—an awful job to find the place you are trying to block the ship in the face of tremendous fire. These fellows reported afterwards that those signals from the ship were of the very greatest assistance, and they came down this way. The *Intrepid* got down there and tried to turn around as far as she could, but she wouldn't turn any more, so the captain pressed the button, the ship sank and she is still there. (Applause.) The third one, the *Iphegenia* saw the gap, and she was headed the same way. Directly she was ashore there he twisted the ship around until he was sure that his stern—that is, the blunt end—was on the sand. (Laughter.) When he was absolutely certain that he was ashore at both ends, he pressed the button, the mines went off, the bottom went out, the ship sank, and she is still there. (Applause.)

Now, those two ships blocked that channel absolutely for five months. (Applause.) I explained, at great length at the beginning, how very very narrow the actual channel is owing to that sand. It is very narrow indeed. Because it is wet on one side or the other, that does not mean that a ship can get across; what it means is that a boy could sail his toy boat there. But those two ships absolutely stopped that channel. What the Germans did was to concentrate dredging between those ships' sterns and this shore to cut a channel through so as to get their ships out.

Here is one of the aerial photographs showing the position blocked by the ships. There is the Mole; here is the *Thetis*; here is the *Iphegenia,* and there is the *Intrepid.*

Here is another one. That photograph was taken at about half tide and you see the sand is wet.

There is a German photograph showing the position of the block ships. This photograph was taken by a German air man, properly fixed up, and we managed to get hold of it—we generally managed to get what we wanted out of the Germans. This one, again, is taken at high tide; you notice there is no sand here. The dredge is actually working between the *Thetis* and the sand. There is the *Thetis* herself, as she is in fact, except that she has now the white ensign flying. (Applause.)

There is the end of the Mole. There is the lighthouse. These are the buoys. Here is another German air photograph showing the *Iphegenia* and *Intrepid*. If you can imagine the German photographer standing there, he would get a line in the background. If they drew a line across, like that, between the two ships, that line would be approximately across the channel.

This photograph was taken to prove to the Germans that the channel was not blocked; so the photographer standing at the *Iphegenia,* held his camera straight inland so that the *Intrepid* stood in the foreground, the line in the background. They then cut this so as to make a sea horizon. Then they put the air craft in, and against the line they wrote a few words to the effect that the channel was not blocked. Are they not wonderful liars? (Laughter.) The joke of it is I have got a copy of this original photograph, which is now shown on the screen, and I have also got a copy of what you might call the fake or propaganda photograph of the same thing, with that end cut out, their aerial fleet in, and so on.

This is another German photograph we got off a man in the trenches. There is the left-hand pier of the entrance. Here is the stern of the *Intrepid*. That is a block ship, that one farthest in. There is the stern and the funnels of the *Iphegenia* and the pier. Do you see the sand that drifted right out into the channel? On those highwater photographs this flow of water around on the top of this sand makes it look wet, and it is wet, but the real depth is one inch. This sand is absolutely dry to the stern of the *Intrepid* and no craft could pass through here. You see that dredge away off here, and another there, so as to get that channel open, and after four months' work they did it. One of the reasons they took four months was this, that during the whole time they were working at those ships trying to dredge these channels, we were dropping bombs on them from air craft; and from the 23rd of April, the day this operation took place—St. George's Day—until the day we got into Zeebrugge finally, the average bombing was four tons per day. (Applause.)

Now, those ships were fitted in such a way that they could not be removed. They could not be lifted, because they had no bottoms—these had been blown out. They could not be cut away, for every ship had been fitted in such a way that it could not be cut up. What we did I am not going to tell you, but the consequence was that we were quite convinced that those three ships could not be moved; it was absolutely impossible to move them. We are now trying to do it. (Laughter.)

That is the *Vindictive* after she got back to Dover. (Applause.) Directly we got away from the wall, we did not deceive ourselves over the fact that every gun in the place would concentrate on us and hit us. They did their very best. We put up a smoke screen to hide us, and I suppose we were very successful, because we got back. We had a heavy shell fall inside, and it killed a lot of men. We had another one in there. I think they were 11-inch shells. This is a closer view of the same thing—the wreckage of the kingway.

There is an interesting point in connection with this photograph. While we were on the Mole the Germans were shelling it with heavy guns, and a heavy shell hit outside the wall and knocked it away, and a large chunk fell on the ship, and stayed there through the entire trip back, and we found it there in the morning. The main portion of that piece was taken to the Imperial War Museum, London, as a memento of this operation, after we had taken a few souvenirs.

Here are four of my crew. (Applause.) Here is the

Red Cross train. (Applause.) Here are some of my officers. (Applause.) It was the spirit of these men that enabled us to get through. (Applause.)

Now, if there is a moral to this story, and I am sure there must be, it would be a rather good thing to try to seek it out. I would suggest to you this: the success of this operation showed the result of good co-operation and confidence between officers and men. (Applause.) This confidence between officers and men is the one thing, and one alone, which can make any operation in war a success. If an officer struts about and refuses to talk to his men or refuses to take them into confidence in any way, and considers them lower than himself, he will never get the work out of them. (Applause.) If an officer takes the men into his confidence, and especially in an affair like this, he gets good results. And the same with the men; if the men hold themselves aloof and do not approach the officer when he is ready to talk to them on a subject, it will knock them out. That is the spirit which is necessary right through the army, and it has got to be exactly the same right through the Empire. (Applause.)

How about peace time? Is there any analogy between officers and men in peace? Yes—employers and employees. If the employers don't take the men into their confidence and treat them as human beings and make them have confidence in their employers, there is going to be no co-operation with the employees. (Applause.) If employees hold their employers aloof and will not communicate with them, the same thing will happen. The thing we have to remember is this: these men showed a fine spirit, so did all the men in the army and navy; and we have to see that every civilian has that same spirit which runs right through the British Army and Navy. The only thing we have to see is that employers and employees do their very best to work together for the good of the whole community. (Loud applause.)

FRATERNAL RELATIONS

AN ADDRESS BY EX-PRESIDENT WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 20, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: When our distinguished guest visited Toronto in 1913 he reminded us, when referring to a famous cablegram that had been sent to Great Britain by a certain President of the United States with regard to the Venezuelan question, that they played poker in his country (Laughter.) and that further comment was obviously unnecessary. Well, some of us could agree with him, and we knew from personal experience that they played the game, and that they played it very well. But to-day, gentlemen, he can remind us that his countrymen play—yes, and have played—a better, a finer and a sterner game (Applause.) with equal aptness and with superb courage; and from personal knowledge we can also testify to that fact. The commingling of American and British blood shed by our brave soldiers on the battlefields of France while fighting shoulder to shoulder for the ideals common to both these great Anglo-Saxon peoples has in my opinion cemented for all time to come the feeling of mutual respect, admiration and sympathy between the people of the United States and Canada. (Hear, hear and loud applause.) It is unnecessary for me to introduce Mr. Taft to the members of the Empire Club; he is well and favorably known to Canadians (Hear, hear.) even though he at one time did have some kind

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The Honourable William Howard Taft, Ex-President of the United States, Professor in the Faculty of Law in Yale University was known throughout the war as having the broadest sympathy with Great Britain and France in their struggles against Germany.

of an idea that he could convert us, (Laughter.) but, you know, I don't think he had converted himself, because when the war broke out he ranged himself on the side of Great Britain; (Hear, hear and applause.) he endorsed her action; he sympathised with her during her trials and tribulations; and he encouraged her to the bitter end, until I think we feel that it would be difficult to find a bigger (Laughter.) or a better Britisher outside of the British Empire than the Hon. William Howard Taft, whom I now have very much pleasure in calling upon.

EX-PRESIDENT TAFT was received with loud cheering, the audience rising. He said: My friends of the Empire Club, I am glad to be with you again under very different circumstances from those which existed when I was here before. There has been a good deal of water run under the bridge since you and I met across the dining table. When I was here before I was under an injunction of neutrality—and you were not. (Laughter.) But now we can say what we please; (Laughter.) we only saw through a glass darkly then. You had seen more clearly than we. We tried to keep out of that war. We respected the traditions that had been handed down to us by Washington and Jefferson and we thought it possible that a nation like ours, with her enormous resources and manufacturing capacity and willingness to acquire reasonable profit (Laughter.) could pursue the path of neutrality as laid down by international law, and avoid entering the war. We found that to be impossible. We found that we had outlived the conditions to which the advice of Washington and Jefferson applied. (Hear, hear and applause.) We found that we were of a great world-community in which God had not given us to stay useless when the fate of the world was at stake. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Now, I did not come here to talk about the United States, or what she has done in this war, although of course, we as Americans are proud of the demonstration of our ability to raise a great army, (Hear, hear.) and of what part of that army was able to do on the plains of France and Flanders. (Applause.) I feel that we may well be modest in outlining what we have done in this war, in the presence of an audience like this, of citizens of the city of Toronto and of the Province of Ontario, in view of what they have done for four long years in this war. (Applause.) Your history is remarkable. I listened to your applause over the Salvation Army, as to whether you would put over that draft. Why, of course you will; that is easy; you have got into the habit of doing those things, so I must think that, as practice makes perfect, it is possibly easy to do the thing among you.

You are doubtless thinking of the war and its effect upon Canada. The agonies and the suffering through which you have had to go in your contribution of half your able-bodied men to your armies, and in the large percentage of loss that you had to endure at the time when the issue was very doubtful and when you and your associates of England and Scotland and France had your backs to the wall—that is the time that tries men's souls, and that is the time when your souls stood the test. It was characteristic of the English people and the British generals, that Haig should stick it out, because he knew his people, he knew they could stand true, and that instead of discouraging them and taking away their morale it made them tighten their belts again and go into it. (Applause.) You could not do that with every people, and one great satisfaction, the moral satisfaction of this war, is to note how a bad, immoral cause demonstrates its vicious character in the yellow streak that the fellows of Germany showed when we had them down. (Loud applause.) Now, you have suffered personal loss, all of you. I venture to say there is hardly a person present who, either in his immediate kin or in his close friendship, has not lost friends in this controversy; it is hard for you to contemplate, so recently bereaved, the advantages that are to be derived by Canada, from this war, hard as it has been. You are under a mountain of debt, and those income taxes and other taxes you have been paying, you had better get well acquainted with, because you will have to be friends with them for a long time.

(Laughter.) And now your boys are coming back, and the strain on those who are able to return is telling in the difficulties you have, perhaps, in finding employment, and in the difficulties presented by their psychological condition, in the reaction from the tremendous strain of four years through which they have gone. It was to be expected. They were carried on by that spirit of patriotism and that determination to win, so that they accepted every burden and every discomfort and every suffering without a murmur; and now that the thing is over they kick at a good many things that do not appear to be very burdensome in any way. That you have got to understand; that you have got to be sympathetic with, because it is human nature. You never knew a convalescent that was just the most agreeable person to live with, (Laughter.) and it is very little that we have to do to make allowance for that kind of thing. It is one of the incidents, just the little incidents—incidents that you find cropping out in the rivalry and competition between the soldiers of the different nations. Each one gets into a condition of impatience when he hears the troops of another nation held up to exalted praise, because he is just looking for his proportion. (Laughter.) And it creates at times a little feeling, so that possibly we are not as harmonious as we ought to be. But that is only a ripple on the surface; (Hear, hear.) it is one of those incidental evidences of the recovery from the strain that is in accordance with the human physique and the human nervous system.

After all those sacrifices that you had to make, think of the great future that awaits Canada. I don't mean to minimize in any degree your great prospects before the war, if that war had not occurred. I do not mean in any way to say that there was not here a great independent dominion that was bound to occupy a great future. But you will indulge me in saying that this war has given you a quick opportunity to demonstrate to the world your character as a national dominion that you could not have had in any other way. You have put yourselves, if I may use a colloquial expression, indelibly on the map of the world, (Hear, hear and applause.) as a factor to be considered in world matters; and you, as Australia and New Zealand and South Africa, have made yourselves to illustrate the utter blindness of the German mind. You responded to this war from no selfish motive. You were influenced merely by the filial affection to Mother England, who had protected you in your infancy and made you independent in government, with encouraging protection that you have always enjoyed. (Applause.) The affection was filial, due to the relation, doubtless, of most of you, to those in the mother country, but also there was a national, personal feeling that you felt towards her. (Hear, hear.) Germany, in the grossly material view that she took of everything, and in that Godless philosophy that she adopted—that might makes right, and only gain promotes connection—had assumed that neither you nor Australia nor the other daughters of England would respond and send forces to aid your mother when she was in an exigency; and the impatience with which the German commentators viewed your activities and your energies as something not according to the plan of the General Staff, (Laughter.) was most enjoyable. (Renewed laughter.)

You have had great losses in the sense that you have had to contribute much to the war, and you have a heavy duty as well; but you have established yourselves in the British Empire as you were not in the Empire when I had the honor to address you before. (Hear, hear and applause.) You said you were, and in a way, of course, you were; but now it is real; (Hear, hear.) it is not confined to post-prandial addresses of English statesmen; (Hear, hear.) you have now a representative in the congress of the nations, and you are there before the world as a constituent member of the British Empire, and entitled to be heard; (Hear, hear and applause.) and Great Britain is manifesting the proper gratitude to you for the demonstration of your filial loyalty and its importance and weight, on the one hand, and she is exercising that wise lightening of any legal bond of control in the stronger bond of affection that this war has increased in every way between you and her. (Applause.)

Your future is a great one. What the future of England will be, or Scotland, or Ireland, what the future of France will be, what the future of Italy will be, is more involved, in the fact that they are old countries and that they have strained themselves and the productive qualities of their countries to the utmost. How they are to take care of their enormous debts is a problem that it is difficult to solve. Let us hope that the inspiration of the war will strengthen them to meet it. But in Canada there is no such doubt. (Hear, hear.) Your people are young, with a resiliency that shows itself in every move you make, with a physical and mental strength that comes from your environment in this great Empire of yours, and from the confidence in your own moral courage which you have tested in this war yourselves. (Applause.)

I am not advocating war, and I want to do everything I can to avoid war, (Hear, hear and applause.) but there are some things that we must recognize in war; that war gives us an opportunity to follow the old Greek injunction of knowing ourselves, and of finding that when we are called upon to meet a great issue and discharge a great debt we have the innate qualities to do both. Now, that is what you have done; and with that confidence that comes from knowing yourselves and your capacity, there is going to be a springing forward in business, in enterprises, in reforms and improvements, in governmental and business methods, that you will be surprised at yourselves. We had a war within our own borders that almost destroyed half of the country, and things looked very discouraging, and yet that spirit enabled us soon to put ourselves on our feet and to go ahead with an outburst of courageous, farseeing energy and enterprise that made the growth of that country in the thirty years after the war a wonder of the world. (Hear, hear and applause.) So it is with you, my friends. You have a great domain here. It is only scratched, in many ways. You have built railroads, and you have issued bonds for them, (Laughter.) and you have run them in a great many directions that perhaps you would not follow now if they were not in the ground, (Laughter.) but you will catch up with that, and you will go on to build other railroads, and we will offer you, as best we can, that competition that stimulates the growth of both countries. (Applause.)

Something was said about reciprocity—in an indefinite way; (Laughter.) but I am content to wait; (Laughter and applause.) I don't have to be vindicated all at once. (Laughter.)

Now, I further felicitate you, first, on the noble past you have made your own, that neither the world, nor you, nor your neighbours on the south will ever forget; second, on the great future that you have before you. We have got enough to attend to at home, (Laughter.) and you cannot grow too fast or too prosperous or too happy for us. (Applause.) This war has made the feeling between the United States and Canada much closer. (Applause.) What your president has said with reference to my feeling towards Canada is true; I have always felt the deepest affection, because I think I know you, so it is more of a compliment; (Laughter.) and the strength of what is to come hereafter in the union of nations to prevent the recurrence of such another human disaster is to find one of its chief factors in the affection and mutual respect of the English-speaking communion. (Loud applause.) There is nothing invidious in that relation, in its attitude towards our respective relations to other countries, but it is natural that we who speak the same language, we who have a common history, we who look to the British people for the hammering out of the principles of civil liberty that we now enjoy, we who look to the common law as the source of those instrumentalities for guaranteeing civil liberty, should have a common feeling, and should understand the importance of a union to preserve those memories, and through that union to bring together all the nations of the world in a communion like that. (Hear, hear and loud applause.) We are an example to the world, you and we, of what can be done in the matter of the maintenance of peace. This example of two nations like yours and ours living together now for more than a hundred years with a border-land nearly four thousand miles in extent, and no breach of any kind in that century, without fortifications or means of war between us, is something that the world ought to cherish as a possible ideal that they can reach if they will only be reasonable and drop those jealousies and unfounded suspicions that so often unnecessarily lead to a breach. (Loud applause.)

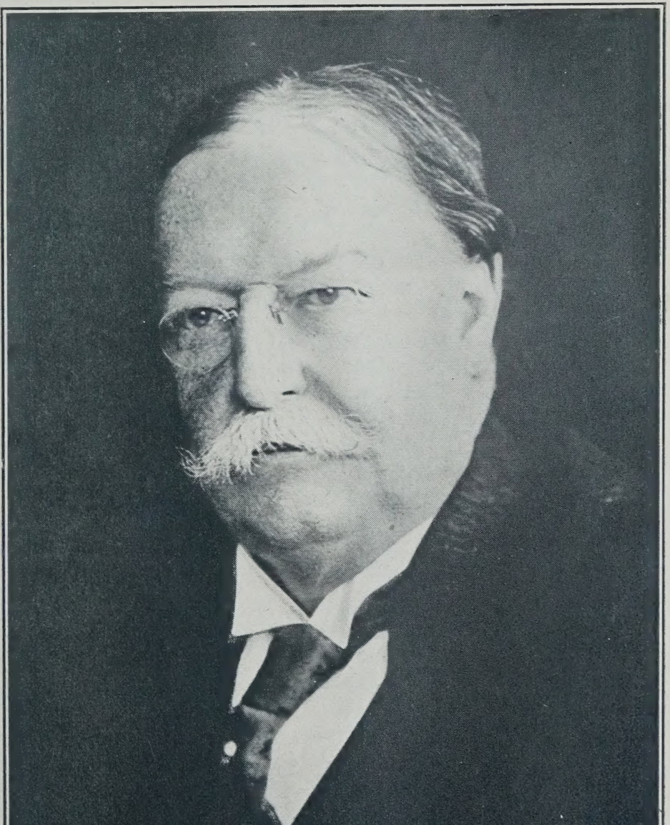
Now, in that very history we find that it was not such an easy thing to maintain that hundred years of peace. There were times when it looked as if it were going to be broken, when we were trying to shut you out of access to the Pacific Ocean. I don't know whether you know our generosity in that regard (Laughter.) when the shibboleth of one of our presidents was "Fifty-four forty or fight," and we didn't get fifty-four forty, and we didn't fight. (Laughter.) And so during the civil war we did not think you were quite as friendly to the north as you ought to have been, and we had certain raw feelings on that subject—which your mother country, too, put a little pepper in. (Great laughter.) But we got the Joint High Commission, and that provided for two arbitrations, one for the Alabama claim and the other for the fish you said we had stolen off the Newfoundland Banks, (Laughter.) and we held those arbitrations, and mulcted you in $15,000,000, and Sir Alexander Cockburn, a member of the arbitration, went around denouncing the result afterwards; but Great Britain played the game; (Hear, hear and applause.) she made a grimace, but she went down into her pocket and she paid up the stakes. Then we had our turn, and the arbitrators found that we had stolen the fish, (Great laughter.) and said that they were worth, at the market price, $5,000,000 (Laughter.) and then we heard from our statesmen, who came from the valleys near Gloucester and along the way, who said, "That is the most outrageous decision; the Court didn't understand the question, and our counsel were very, very lax in its presentation," and oh, no, we were never going to pay it. But we did; (Laughter.) we played the game; (Hear, hear and laughter.) and we learned by that experience that arbitration is not a game of "heads I win, tails you lose," that if you go into it, if it is going to be useful you have got to be willing to be beaten and take your medicine. (Hear, hear and applause.) You have got to be in the same frame of mind that Sir Robert Falconer's antecedents used to be in down in the New England village, that you will not be saved unless you are willing to be damned. (Great laughter.)

Now, I am not going to talk about the League of Nations in detail, because I have not the time and you could not stay, (A voice, "Oh yes, we could.") but I could not get through a speech now under any conditions, whether it was a commercial club, or a court, or elsewhere, unless I lugged in the League of Nations. (Laughter.) Three or four years ago it was an academic question; three or four years ago we would meet in convention, we college professors and publicists who write what you people read, (Laughter.) and we would "resolute" and "resolute," and speak and speak, and beg money enough to print what we said. (Laughter.) Then we sent around the engrossed copies to catch the dust for those who received them. (Laughter.) It seemed remote; the war was then on, and to us in the United States, even the war seemed remote. To you the war was close, and therefore anything that involved the discussion of peace at all was regarded as irrelevant, and even ungracious to suggest. Why, in England they got up a League of Nations having the same purpose as our League to Enforce Peace, and they would not put the word "Peace" in it, (Laughter.) and they objected to our expression, "The League to Enforce Peace," because they said it gave rise to a misconstruction as to what our purpose was. While we were shouting in the wilderness then, we are right up on deck now. (Laughter.) The issue is acute, and the congress at Paris have put the League of Nations down as the first subject for consideration. (Applause.) Now, there are those in our country who are objecting to that, and saying that it ought to be postponed. One distinguished gentleman, Mr. James M. Beck, said that the founders of the constitution had waited five years after we got independence before they adopted the constitution of the United States, and it seems to me that he said that we might just as well be patient as those wise ancestors of ours. Well, all I have to say about that is that if our fathers had begun earlier on that constitution they would have saved four or five years of very great discomfort. (Applause.) Read the descriptions by Madison and Hamilton of the conditions that prevailed under the old articles of confederation before we had adopted the constitution, and I am sure you will agree with me. It may have been necessary, in order to have the matter "borne in" on our ancestors—as our Methodist brethren would say—to have that period of discomfort in order to demonstrate that we needed a real nation, but do we need any demonstration of the necessity of peace in the future? If Mr. Beck wants any greater demonstration than we have had, I must regard him as an unreasonable member of the Bar. (Laughter.)

It seems to me—and of course this is an unofficial opinion—it could not be otherwise—that the reason why they have put forward the League of Nations idea to receive the first discussion in the Congress is that, as Premier Clemenceau said, they have a League of Nations now, they have had it during the war, the League of Nations that won this war, the five great powers; and if you are going to carry out the ambitious program that the nations have subscribed to in the making of this peace, unless you do have the league of the nations of the five great powers your treaty will be nothing but a scrap of paper. (Hear, hear and applause.) We are going to do so much for the benefit of the world which we have promised to the world, and the world is in such a mess in Russia and in other parts of central and eastern Europe, that we are vested with the responsibility of continuing that league and providing the machinery for its operation after peace is signed. That we cannot escape; we cannot run away from it. (Applause.) After we have provided for the machinery that will make that league work for the great purposes of enforcing that peace, the enlargement of the league on the basis of that foundation—the lesser league of great powers, the charter members of a world club—then it is just as easy as possible, if that league demonstrates its usefulness and efforts, as it undoubtedly will, for the protection of all the other nations, to have those nations come in and accept membership. All the advantage in that, my dear friends, is that we can get up the charter of the club before we let 'em in. (Laughter and great applause.) The great problem and difficulty in organising the world league of nations is the difficulty of inducing the lesser nations to agree on anything in which they are not going to have as full a voice as the nations who will have to carry the burden of enforcing the obligations of the league; I know about that, because in the administration now forgotten, (Great laughter.) we attempted to get up a world court, and everybody was in favor of a world court, but it failed. And why? Because every nation wanted a permanent member or two members in that court, and instead of a court we would have a town meeting, (Laughter.) which made it utterly impracticable. Now we have to arrange the structure of that league to secure the protection of the minor nations, because that is one of the great objects of a world league; but we have to make it practical so that it will work, and put into it machinery that shall not make it a laughingstock so that it shall thus lose its efficacy and power. I have spoken longer than I should, gentlemen. I am very much obliged to you. (Loud and long continued applause, mingled with calls, "Go on.")

President Stapells asked Mr. Peter Wright to present the thanks of the club to Ex-President Taft.

Mr. Peter Wright: On behalf of the Empire Club it affords me great pleasure to extend to you, Hon. Mr. Taft, the gratitude of this club towards you. They feel intensely in earnest, especially over the later remarks in your speech, and the club realizes that if a civilization is going to be rescued and conserved it is imperative that the Anglo-Saxon nations of the world should combine in future to make war impossible. (Applause.) We thank you, sir, for the encouragement that you have given to Canada, which, after all, is a young



HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

nation, and which started within these last four years to make history in the world. While we agree that it is imperative for Great Britain, the United States of America, and the Dominions, to form themselves into a league and build up a higher world and power for the greater era and the new epoch, while we agree with you we would also like you to agree that it will be absolutely imperative for Great Britain, in spite of the fact that a speaker stated that she is in a state of bankruptcy, to retain her supremacy on the seas. (Hear, hear and loud applause.) We, as a club, feel that the United States and the Dominions of Great Britain and good old England, who have stood so well, in combination, with Great Britain having the supremacy of the sea, could lead and show the world how to live and make war impossible. (Hear, hear.) We thank you, sir for your inspiring words, and we trust that with your spirit in the United States, and the spirit which has been shown in New Zealand and Australia, and the spirit which has prevailed in the Indian Kingdom, we will be able to create a new system of society where war will be impossible. On behalf of the club, sir, I thank you heartily. (Loud applause.)

Ex-President Taft: I had it in my mind to say something on the particular question which the kind speaker referred to, in reference to the British fleet. Opponents of the League of Nations with us rejoiced when Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking for the government in a political campaign—of course you always have to take the environment—(Laughter.) said that it was not intended to reduce England's fleet; and they came to me to know how much prospect there was of a League of Nations under those conditions. I replied, that if I were England I would not reduce it a torpedo-boat. (Laughter, and loud applause.) England's supremacy in the sea, if you like that expression, in time of peace, has always meant for all nations equality of opportunity, (Hear, hear, and loud applause.) and in time of war England must maintain her fleet to resist unjust aggression, because if she did not she would starve in six months. (Hear, hear.) Whether we can secure through the League of Nations the protection to all nations that shall justify a proportionate reduction of armaments lies in the womb of the future. Of course that is the ambition of those who hope much for the League of Nations. But the policy with respect to armaments—and we did not include that in our League to Enforce Peace—must depend on the success of the league, and its demonstration that it can furnish the insurance that individual nations now secure by navies and armies for their self-protection. (Hear, hear and loud applause.)

AUSTRALIA AND HER POST-WAR PROBLEM

AN ADDRESS BY HON. H. Y. BRADDON

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 24, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS introduced the speaker, saying that no part of the British Empire had done more in the war than the great commonwealth of Australia, by its army on land, and its navy on the sea, and the men, women and children at home doing their bit. Foremost among those at home was the distinguished speaker of the day, who during the war placed his talent, his time, his great ability and energy at the disposal of his government, and came as Australian commissioner to the United States to do his bit there at a critical time. No words could adequately express the tribute to which this great Imperial statesman is entitled.

HON. MR. BRADDON was received with cheers, the audience rising. He said: Mr. President and Gentlemen, I am deeply grateful to your office bearers for their kindness in giving me the privilege of addressing you here to-day, and still more grateful for this beautiful little burst of Australian sunshine. (Laughter.) It has been extremely gratifying to me to meet such

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Honourable H. Y. Braddon is Commissioner for Australia in the United States. He knows Australia and her industries thoroughly, being himself a practical business man of the Commonwealth. His early business connection was with Australian Banking Institutions. He has filled the positions of President of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce, and President of the Employees' Federation, and has served as a member of the Legislative Council. He has written several works on business principles and he took a leading part in introducing distinctly commercial subjects into the corriculum of Australian Universities. He was born in 1863 and was educated in France, Germany, England and Tasmania.

gentlemen as Sir Edmund Walker, the head of a great financial institution, and Dr. Morrison, whose name is known from one end of Australia to the other with respect, regard and affection. (Applause.) To me it is entirely delightful to be with the members of the Empire Club. I thought you were just sober business men like myself; I had no idea that I was coming as a guest among the accomplished dilettante. I was told by the Australian government that whatever I did I was to visit Canada and give you a message of greeting and good feeling from Australia. (Applause.) We regard you there as blood brothers, and we are proud of you. There is nothing they do not know in Australia about you—the unflinching courage, the wonderful devotion to duty of the Canadian boys at the second battle of Ypres, at Vimy Ridge, Cambrai, Mons and all the rest—it would be idle to recount all the places, and would take too long. But while we rejoice in Australia over the wonderful performances of your lads at the front, we also grieve with you over the inevitable losses which those victories at the front have caused.

I propose to touch briefly upon one or two subjects in reference to Australia which would ordinarily be rather dry, but which to-day have an importance that they never had before, so I will plead no excuse about that. Let me first, however, refer to one or two big distinctions between your country and ours. When I left Australia I was quite convinced, as a patriotic Australian, that it was a wonderfully great and spacious continent, but since arriving here little doubts have intruded themselves into my mind. I am told people do not know it is the biggest island or the smallest continent in the world, (Laughter.) but whatever its dimensions may be, we yield place to no other section of the Empire in our regard for the old mother country, our loyalty to it, and our admiration of its wonderful efforts. (Applause.) The climate of Sydney is typified by what you see through this window. We are on 34 degrees south latitude, about the same as Buenos Ayres and Cape Town, or, coming nearer home, about the same degree of northern latitude as Oklahoma. The mean summer temperature of Sydney is 71 degrees, and the mean winter temperature 51 degrees, and we play games like golf all the year round, and it is hard to say which is the better season. Our sheep graze all the year round, which takes a big burden off the country in the sense of winter feeding. When we think of Canada we naturally think of an old primitive land covered with wonderful snows; we picture your trappers, pushing those extraordinary pioneer equipments of theirs, hunting the musk-ox, the caribou, and the rest, right out into the dim wastes of your great west. It is not our fault that we do that. Kipling is partly responsible, and charming writers like Sellers, who give us wonderful stories of the scenes, and we are apt to forget your great clay-belt, your water powers, your manufacturing in the east—you manufacture more than we do in Australia, and you export your manufactures. You have your technical skill in commerce, which we have not as yet, most of our manufacturing is for local consumption only. We rely mainly on our primary products, wheat, meat and the associated products, for export. We are less than five million people, almost wholly British, but one wool clip, under the British government purchase scheme, which will run on until June 1920, is worth roughly, $200,000,000. (Applause.) We are said to be enervated by paternal government, state control, and the like. I do not apologize for touching briefly on that very dry subject, but please understand that I must outline the local problems. We have public utilities like telephones, post and telegraph, supply of water. These utilities grew out of the inherent surroundings, and they are not the result of any special economic doctrine, because we had no private capital to do these things, and if the government in the various states did not build those railways I don't know who would; we might have had seven or eight lines here and there. Australia is a big country with a very sparse population, but we would not have had the railways run as they are now. They are fairly run under commissions which are assumed to be entirely free from political control—I hope you will note the caution of my language. (Laughter.) We have about 25,000 miles of those railways in Australia, against your 47,000 or 48,000. There is a trend of opinion that we have reached the limit of state paternalism in Australia, but when we turn back a little there are streams which indicate the flow of the current towards private enterprise and private industry.

Turning now to the labor question, which belongs to what has been termed the dismal science, I may say that Australia has a labor question. Before I arrived in the United States I knew I would have to combat the effect of a pamphlet published in 1914 by a commission from U.S. manufacturers who were sent to Australia to write up the labor question and who wrote it in vitriol, not in ink. In the twenty-one conclusions of that pamphlet there is not a statement made that is not in itself correct enough, but there are no mitigations, it is all one-sided, and I am told that the two gentlemen principally concerned are red-hot employers in the sense that they are class-conscious, they are bitter against the laboring classes, and they went out prejudiced and ready to find a certain type of evidence, and wherever they found it they wrote it down and did not look for mitigating circumstances. The net result is a caricature; it is not a true presentation of the picture. One could talk for an hour on the Australian labor question, but I will touch only one or two of the high points.

First, understand that the labor question involves really a unit, all British; the number of foreigners is almost negligible. They are all educated; the percentage of illiteracy is also almost negligible, because we have free compulsory education which runs up in the state schools to about 16½ years of age, and for all practical purposes it is all unionized, all the bigger trades. Compare that with the United States—I do not know how Australia stands relative to Canada. In the States they have a big percentage of what one would call foreigners, many not English-speaking. They are not unionized to any great degree, and the percentage of illiteracy was stated the other day by Mr. Secretary

Lansing as over ten per cent. right through. That is a serious thing. They never tried our experiment in compulsory arbitration, and the like, but out of their labor world less than three million are unionized, yet those unionized people involving the most skilled trades, have exercised a quite extraordinary power in bringing about the conditions they sought. Taking it as an entirety—and I say this with some responsibility—looking at their State Acts and ours, their Workmen's Compensation, their Factory Act, all those places where the particular employer may be said to be curbed, the employer in Australia is no more curbed to-day than the employer in the United States, notwithstanding what this pamphlet alleges about Australia. That phase of compulsory arbitration we have tried for twenty years. The New South Wales Act, the one that naturally rises between us, has been just about twenty years in existence. It is an admitted failure; you cannot compel big bodies of men; the penalties under those acts are jury offences; you cannot compel big bodies of men. You have many penalties on a biggish scale which are not enforced because penalties cannot come into this question. I am largely of the opinion that the opportunity of the future lies along the line of the Whitley report in England, and not having penalties upon the statute books which are laughed at, which you cannot enforce. My own view, which is corroborated by that of the best man on the labor question in Australia, is that we will do away presently with this compulsory arbitration, which only benefits one side, the employer, and we will retain the basic living wage.

To-day we can honestly say that in Australia sweating has been abolished; it cannot exist there because there is a line in this basic wage law under which no wage can go, so I hope we will presently obtain a condition where this basic living wage, fixed by an impartial tribunal once a year, will set a line below which no wage will be paid, above which free bargaining will be allowed, and the relation of scale, adaptability, responsibility and hardness of work, and all those elements, will be considered.

In Australia we have strikes, and the mention of these forms a large portion of that U.S. pamphlet I mentioned, but it does not mention that strikes there are of very short duration. This compulsory act, if it did nothing else, had that effect. It is also not mentioned that we never have had a strike with violence worth talking about, or with destruction of property. Strikes do not assume that phase in Australia. We have labor governments in power every now and then, and we find that they develop quite a fine sense both of capacity and responsibility, and they do not do the weird things that they speak about in their pre-election hustings speeches, when some candidates call down fire from heaven to destroy the employer. When they get into power they are sobered. They learn, and many of them are men of great native capacity. I do not know if you had here Mr. Holman, the present premier of New South Wales. ("Yes.") There is one of the most brilliant men in the political world of Australia. For three years he was practically the leader of a straight-out labor party, and for the other three the leader, and to-day he is the National Premier, in the State of New South Wales, and we are glad to have him. If you read that pamphlet you will see mention of the I.W.W., Bolsheviki and others down in Australia. We have a few, and they create trouble. Some of them were unfortunately pushed out of the United States, and in our kindness of heart, and not quite knowing what we were welcoming, we allowed them into Australia. Some of those men tried to burn down the city of Sydney. They succeeded in burning down some big factories, and they are now in jail, but that is nothing; they represent an irresponsible minority of labor. I am speaking now of the labor party itself, and as far as I have been able reliably to ascertain, the Bolshevist element does not represent more than ten per cent. of the labor party. The rest are sober, decent Britishers. (Applause.)

I hope when we get going with those shop committees, conciliatory committees, and the like, where the men meet the masters, as they should do, that a far better mutual understanding will come about. There is a delightful saying that "To understand all is to forgive all," and when men meet together they discover that the other fellow is not the black-hearted devil that they thought he was; that there are not the hundred and one inequalities in the trades that the men are always being told by this irreconcilable minority existing in the various trades. You must have read the Whitley report. That seems to me to be something in entirely the right direction, the direction at which we will aim presently in Australia in contradistinction to those compulsory cast-iron arbitration measures. I do not think there is anything insurmountably difficult or impossible about getting men to understand one or two simple propositions which they do not understand now, that is, the benefaction to any community of the recognized money-maker. He is not a man that I violently admire, but to a community, and from an economic point of view, he has a thoroughly good motive; that man puts his money into use, and most of the time wisely; it is a matter of instinct; he is always doing something, and that something means employment, industry and wages. You may dislike him, he may be an ignoble person, but for the community he is a fine thing, and the workmen should be honestly told these things, and have the why and wherefore explained to them.

Speaking about the value of brains to a community, we had one man in Australia earning £500 a year. He put himself to work to find drouth-resisting wheats. In a few years he developed types which had not been previously accessible to farmers, and to-day the value of that man's brain-effort is assessed at £1,000,000 per annum to Australia, because there we have a capricious climate which every now and then does not furnish just the right modicum of rain when the grain is coming into the ear. The labor world has to understand what brains mean in the big concerns, the terrible burden that concerns bear, quite apart from the risk; and when they get to understand these things, I entirely decline to believe that their attitude will not be very much better than it has hitherto been. (Applause.) I think they will see that the slacker—and I am talking now of this awful cancer of the go-slow business—has a recoil like a boomerang, that hits itself. The man who deliberately cuts down his own effort raises the cost of bricks. That reacts in every direction; others are doing it elsewhere. These things react on one another with an accelerated effect, and you have the cost of living rising, always faster than wages rise, and men consequently in a state of perpetual dissatisfaction. I think that can be taught to them. To my mind it is almost more serious than the effect on the national output, this doctrine of go-slow, the effect on individual character, because I decline to believe that a man can be properly happy when he is conscious that he is not doing the best with those talents of adaptability and that influence which God has given him. (Applause.) So that, on the whole, I do not think we are in such a parlous case as that pamphlet of 1914 seemed to evidence. I have no hesitation in saying all this in the south, and they have been good enough to pay it a certain amount of attention.

Now I am going to say a word or two about repatriation. In Australia we recognize it as a duty to give the returned soldier a full, fair, clear opportunity to reinstate himself in civil life. (Applause.) As to a number there will be no difficulty whatever. My own company, for instance, has pledged itself to take back every man, not only without loss of status, but we preserve his seniority, so that if somebody else who remained here has advanced in his absence, that soldier returning is put up to the same level. But quite apart from that—and a number of other big houses have given that as well—we realize the sacred duty to those soldiers; all men that are well will remain on the pay list; we are not paying any six months' pay, as I understand you are doing here, but the returned soldier will remain on the pay list until he will be offered a job, and there will be committees and boards to watch for opportunities to reinstate the soldier. But if he refuses something reasonable offered him, to which his condition should induce him—his previous training, for instance—to accede, then he goes off the pay list, because the company will have done its duty in offering him work; if he declines to take it, that is his concern. Then there is a big category of totally and partially disabled—I am speaking now of the military scheme as it was put before me just as I left Australia—and the pension scheme will arrange, according to individual circumstances, number of dependents and the like, from $8.50 to $13.50 a week; and remember that the purchasing power of money in Australia at present is nearly double that of money in the United States, so that is not a bad pension—42 to 66 shillings according to conditions. If the soldier is partially disabled, institutions will be set up for teaching him how to use his hands, how to do without one limb, etc. For the totally disabled there will be homes, and if they need special treatment, they will get that in addition. Those who are suitable for blocks of land will get them, but those blocks of land are not going to be given to them, but they can get them on a very easy purchase scheme, something like thirty years on a four per cent. basis, land roughly worth $5,000, and they can get any part of the price up to $2,500, to enable them to erect a little home, plants and improvements; they will be tided over the non-productive period, of necessity. That is an expensive scheme, but it is a duty to be done; it means $7,500,000 to put a thousand men on that basis. Other problems are isolation and psychology. Remember what those soldiers have been through —fierce, terrible, incalculable excitements of war. Will they come back and settle down quietly on little farms some distance from others? I don't know; we have got to try. If it can be done on a community basis so as to have them more aggregated it will be done, because this problem is recognized. Then the problem of psychology, where some of those men come back shell-shocked, they will require extraordinarily patient and sympathetic care to tide them over until they are fit to go back to work for themselves in the country. (Applause.)

We have to find pensions for the dependents of some 60,000 dead, and we have to work back gradually in this way some 70,000 disabled soldiers. In one respect we are fortunate. We only attempted munitions on a very slight scale, so that we have not had that industrial dislocation that has been the case in other countries where huge works have been erected simply for purposes of war, and where the problem now has to be faced of fitting them for works of peace, turning the sword into the ploughshare. We have practically nothing of that, and we have had wonderfully fine prices through the war for our wool and our wheat. Well, we need them. Before the war the states of Australia owed something like £400,000,000—what you call two billions. It gives me creeps down the spine to say "billion" (Laughter.) because a billion in Australia means a million millions, (Laughter.) but I understand the term has a much milder and more modest meaning here. (Laughter.) What the Australian states owe to-day I do not know, but it will be something more than £400,000,000; and the commonwealth which had no debt—delightful situation—just before the war, will owe something like £300,000,000 when the bill is totalled up. Quite apart from this, that, and all the rest of it, the interest bill will require an excess of products over imports, and they will have to send away every year to pay the interest alone what is a heavy burden. Personally I am not frightened about it; I am a believer in Australia, (Hear, hear and applause.) but I believe that increased production can be obtained by better methods in farming; we could possibly increase our product in wheat and the like, and possibly do a little better in manufactures, though for various reasons that is not quite a line of debt-paying power; but I honestly do not think we can improve our methods in flax-growing and sheep, as they are very scientifically conducted. I am not nervous about the future, and if we can bring about proper harmony between labor and capital, we will do it all the more easily.

We will want immigrants, but I fear after the war we will not get many, as we are very far away, and it takes as long for a vessel to make one trip to Australia as to make four trips to Canada; you have a very distinct call over us. When an Englishman moves to Canada he probably says, "Well, I will be back next year and see the old folks," but that would be a rather wild dream for an Australian, who would probably say to himself, "If I have luck I will be back in ten years." I hope my own case will not be taken as typical, but I was away thirty-one years. You remember what Mark Twain said about his lengthened absence; he was away some time from the place, and when he got back all his friends were either dead or in jail. (Laughter.)

We also want capital—and I say this in bated breath and whispered humbleness, for there is not altogether lacking some sympton of that kind here. (Laughter.)

In Australia we believe in education, just as Mark Twain, whom I quoted just now, did. You remember what he said about training—that training is everything; the peach was once a bitter almond, and the cauliflower, after all, is only cabbage with a college education. (Laughter.) At Sydney we have a University, and in a lesser degree in Adelaide a precedent, and in Melbourne as a result of my personal advocacy —I am almost a nuisance to Melbourne—we have a higher commercial course, on the recognition of the theory that, in the test after the war, the most highly trained nation commercially will win out. (Hear, hear and applause.) The Sydney university has a full degree, a three or four years' course, a degree of economics and commerce. It was a long weary contest bringing that about; the commercial world was not particularly interested, but I managed to get over that; the Senate said it was *infra dig,* but in an entirely brutal way of my own I got over that finally, and the labor government put on the estimates $12,500 a year within five minutes after my asking for it, after the University of Sydney had given at last its reluctant imprimatur. That course involves subjects such as pure economics, a high degree of skill in accountancy, business principles and practice—that is my subject; I have lectured for twelve years at nights for two and sixpence a week, and I hope to resume when I get back; civic and public administration, languages, sociology, commercial technology, the technology of products, the history of industrialism, and four or five other subjects. Now, here is a gratifying thing, the ministries of the Crown in New South Wales have told me that they already have induced a superior mentality, a superior pressure of intellect in the work of the public service as a result of a number of students who have passed through the university and are now in the public service of New South Wales. (Applause.)

But we did not stop there. The head of the state schools must, up to sixteen or seventeen, decide to start preliminary commercial teaching at the school, and the boys are delighted with it; they take a far greater interest in it than in either horticulture or agriculture, because it is something real, something that a great many of them will presently tackle, and they just love it. That is a simple course, because it would not do to put heavy subjects on mere lads to prepare them for the office and the university. I helped the government to draft the syllabus. I read the papers for the first two years, and appalling they were, for we were all new; at the end of two or three hundred papers each year my patience petered out, and I passed the work on to others. But it is a fine thing, and now there is no excuse for any young man who wants to fit himself into the finest instrument of which he is capable; he can start at fourteen and finish with a degree at the university.

I spoke just now about Australian loyalty. We are deeply conscious to-day, as we never were before, of what we owe to the mother country. (Applause.) I am not speaking specially of the fine gifts of local autonomy, or of the sums lent for our development at preferential rates of interest, without which we could not have got much ahead; I am speaking perhaps more of the realization which has come home to us in the last four years of what it meant to us to be there in the southern Pacific—the protection of the British fleet. (Applause.) I am grateful to the chairman for mentioning the Australian fleet, because on a Mercator's projection it might require something in the nature of a microscope to find it, but we have one entire and undivided battle cruiser, we have four or five destroyer types; but, gentlemen, when the war started we realized that the defence of Australia was not down there in the southern Pacific, it was fought out in Flanders and in the North Sea. (Applause.) We believed, as devoted men believe in their Deities, in the efficiency of the British fleet and we sent our little unit to join up there. (Applause.) But to me as a little Britisher, I confess it makes me glow when I think what the British fleet has done. (Hear, hear.) People speak of the freedom of the seas. For a hundred years that fleet has maintained the finest traditions of the Nelson school, and has never used any bullying or braggart way. (Hear, hear and applause.) It has been the protector of the small nations; it polices the highways of the deep; it drove the pirate of the sea off the seas, so that the humblest trader could sail into any port he liked, under any flag, and feel perfectly secure, and he could trade in British ports on an exactly like footing with British tonnage. (Applause.) Having seen the freedom of the seas, I confess I don't know what it is. It seems to me the British navy has for a hundred years conferred the freedom of the seas upon the world at large. (Hear, hear and applause.) Could anything have been finer than what occurred the other day, when the British fleet came into its own; that day for which the German navy has been feverishly building—"the Day" they have been toasting for twenty years —"the Day" it has been inviting. (Applause.) Why, you take off your hat with respect to the Spanish fleet at Santiago, sailing out to its certain doom, with the flag flying and guns booming. (Applause.) You respect that Russian fleet that sailed away around into the eastern seas knowing that it was going to its doom, but with its flag flying, and it put up a fight. But what are you to think of that German fleet? As somebody put it in New York, speaking of its security in sailing through two lines of Allied battleships, he could think of it as a fleet not battle-scarred but battle-scared. (Laughter and applause.) Now, the German has referred to his wonderful Empire, and I confess I rather quarrel with the word "Empire," and I wish we could get a better, because you think instinctively of the German Empire, perhaps more of the Roman Empire—the subjection of outlying people by greater force, the subjection of those outlying people by the great pro-consuls in the central government. Now, that is explicitly not what the British Empire is. (Hear, hear.) It is the exact opposite of it; the most wonderful structure the world has ever seen; free peoples linked together by bonds of blood and literature and language, of common enthusiasm, of common aims, and one great loyalty to one Crown. (Applause.)

Now, we have had extraordinary things happening in the last four years. In 1915 and 1916 your representative and the representative of Australia were admitted for the first time in history to a cabinet meeting in the United Kingdom. A year later the Imperial War Council was formed. At an earlier meeting those representatives of ours were merely there in a consultative capacity. A year later they joined the Imperial Council in a representative capacity, the first time in history inside the Empire. What will grow out of that one does not quite know. What will grow out of this scheme for the completion of a League of Nations as autonomous countries one does not quite know; but this, at any rate, has emerged—that you and Australia went into this war as daughter states, and you emerged from it as sister nations. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I do not know if my mind is quite big enough, if its thinking is quite wide enough, to take in the idea of a League of Nations, and when one does not know the surroundings it is stupid to comment or attempt to comment; but one can say this—and the more I have been with the people to the south of you, your great neighbors and cousins, the more I feel it and that if we can bring about a league of the English-speaking peoples with their common notions of honour and sportsmanship and fair play, we need not worry about much else. (Loud and continued applause.)

Sir Edmund Walker voiced the thanks of the club in appropriate remarks.

IMPERIAL PLANS IN EDUCATION

AN ADDRESS BY DR. BRUCE TAYLOR

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 30, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: We have heard quite a lot during the past three or four years about the Zeppelin menace, the submarine menace, and the German menace. Happily these menaces are now things of the past. We are beginning to hear a little about the Bolshevistic menace, and wondering just how we are going to cope with it. But there is another menace we have in Canada, and have had since its earliest days; I do not know that we are taking any steps to cope with it—I do not know of any—I mean the Scotch menace. (Laughter.) His Lordship reminds me that we have disposed of one Scotch menace, meaning of course the government's action in September, 1917 (Laughter); that truly has been handled more or less effectively. But I do not mean that menace. You know that politically, ecclesiastically, industrially and academically, Scotchmen have been able to commandeer all the good positions in Canada for many years past (Hear, hear.) and if they have not a Scotchman in this country to handle a position they get a seat-warmer, so to speak, to hold it down till they get the man from Scotland to fill it. (Laughter.) I need only refer to Brown, Mackenzie, Sir John Macdonald, Sir Mortimer Clark, Sir John Gibson, Sir John McKendrie, Bishop Strachan and Archbishop McRae and Archbishop Matheson. Indus-

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Reverend Dr. Bruce Taylor is a brilliant leader in the educational life of Canada. As Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, he will have ample opportunity to display his practical business ability and his broad educational outlook. Few men have a broader vision of Canada's future or better opportunity of assisting to mould it.

trially we think of Lord Strathcona, Mount Stephen, the late Sir William McDonald; and then at the head of our great universities, Sir Daniel Wilson, Sir William Paterson, and Principal Grant of Queens. So you see that my statement is fairly correct. There are a great many others, and I could go on *ad lib,* but I think I had just better stop. I am reminded of a story of Dr. Harper, of a bishop and his rector who said, "Well, you know, My Lord, there is a little Scotch in me," and the bishop, with a twinkle in his eye, retorted. "Well, you know vicar, on one occasion I had a little Scotch in me, but it produced altogether a more comfortable and happy feeling in me than yours does in you." (Laughter.) Now, we have not a little Scotch in Canada; we have got a lot of Scotch—of a kind—the right kind (Laughter.) and I am glad of it; and just as our Scotchmen in the early days were pioneers in our national progress, so it is with the Scotch of to-day. Our distinguished guest is a pioneer of a great Imperial education plan, of which we are to hear to-day, and if you will permit me I will introduce him with the words used on the announcement card, for I like them very much, and I think I would like to emphasize them:—"Dr. Taylor is a brilliant leader in the education of Canada, with a broad vision of our country's future. With an intensely practical business ability he had already stamped his influence upon the spirit of education in Canada before he had left the Old Country. His experience at the front has given him a rather unique opportunity of getting very close to what is best in our Canadian life. He has taken up his work at Queen's University in the light of the larger principles of to-day. Canada is to be honored with a broad, statesman-like plan of education which is quite unique in its character, wonderful in its possibilities, not theoretical as an academic proposition, but definitely linked with the industry and life of the community, one of the most outstanding statements of policy that has been outlined in Canada or the Empire." I have pleasure in introducing Dr. Taylor of Queen's University.

DR. BRUCE TAYLOR: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I suppose one cannot help being Scotch, but I will tell you what we have all got, and that is a certain faculty of loving all races; and when I heard the kind of thing that the chairman has just let loose I began to wonder if this is really the genuine potato at all. There was a man at Renfrew, where I came from, who had a kale yard, and he was very much bothered with the depredations of a hootie craw—the corn crow—and he got hold of a rat gin and put it out in his kale yard and covered it over and put some seed on top of it, and got his walking stick, and got behind the door to watch events. By and by the bird, which had been watching him all the time, came down, and it hopped, and it hopped, and hopped right into the trap, which closed upon it, and the old fellow ran from behind the door with the stick raised, crying, "Ah, ah, my mon, I hae ye noo," and he began to beat the bird, and away it went, and he looked at the bird and then at the trap, and there were its two legs sticking in the trap, and he said, "Well, my mon, ye can laugh at me noo, but wait till ye come to sit down." (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, it is the process of sitting down, not the kind of inflation I got from the Chairman, that amazes me. What I want to talk about is:

THE TEACHING OF IMPERIAL HISTORY

As an educationalist, who has found his sphere of work in the Province of Ontario, I suppose I ought to have a system; and yet I find myself, the older I grow, more and more a rebel against system in education. The desire for uniformity runs counter to the facts as we find them. Each individual with whom we have to deal varies so widely from everyone else that an attempt to put a whole class, whether of children in school, or of students in the University, through exactly the same mill, is only to lessen originality and to confound the instilling of a certain number of facts with that awakening which is the true purpose of education. In the exact sciences a good grounding is everything.

But far too much of our education proceeds upon the assumption that all the subjects of study are going to be carried on by the student after he leaves his place of education, and that therefore, while he is in the teacher's hands, it is necessary to spend a great part of the time upon things regarded as fundamental. That may be true of Mathematics and in some particulars true of languages, nor will you think that a Scotchman ever quarrels with a sound foundation in knowledge, but when the method is applied to the teaching of History the result is to centre attention upon those things which are largely antiquarian and to leave the imagination unkindled as to the splendour of the History that is now being written. Gibbon in his "Autobiography," makes some reference to the cramping effect of the usual routine in the teaching of classics. Why should a school boy be drilled almost solely in the reading of that old bore Cicero? The answer made to that question is that the style of Cicero is such splendid rhetoric. But, as Gibbon points out, we are not all going to use Latin as a means of communication, and whether or not we are afterwards able to write eloquent Latin is a matter, with the vast majority of us, of no importance whatsoever. It is like keeping a youth reading Macaulay and forbidding him Carlyle and Meredith and Kipling. What is of importance is that we should have sufficient interest in the history, and such a working knowledge of the language as will allow us to sit down with a Latin book and read the things that interest us. Such was Gibbon's own method of education and the result we see in every page of the "Decline and Fall." He had read the out-of-the-way things in Roman History, the interesting things. His knowledge of classics was the knowledge of the man who saw continuity in the history, not the knowledge of a mere pedagogue. And in your experience and mine, as we look back over our school days, how often were we taken over the period, from the Union of the Crowns to the death of that singularly uninspiring person, Queen Anne. The eighteenth century, in which England was expanding her boundary all over the world, was practically left alone; while, as to modern history, if we learned anything of it at all it was through our own reading of Justin McCarthy and not through any efforts of our teachers. The two great supports of this narrow round of systematized knowledge are the matriculation examinations of the Universities and the lethargy of High school instructors. The grind of instilling a certain number of facts tells most speedily upon the man who has to undertake it, and, unless he has an alert mind, he accepts the situation and confines his study and his teaching to those narrow periods that the impracticable University prescribes. He comes to the point at which he sees that he "has his work in hand," which is also the point at which his mind begins to die. Again I seek to guard myself against being supposed to advocate the superficial: I only want the *varied* and the *imaginative.* It is, of course, of vital importance for the lawyer that he know what the Norman conquest stands for, and anyone who will busy himself with the history of the Province of Quebec must understand what the system was which was reproduced in those seigniories which line the banks of the St. Lawrence and conferred such vast privileges upon the few. Still, knowledge of this kind is more or less specialized, and if our young people are to capture, for their instruction and inspiration, the lessons that the recent war has to teach, they must be led to see how our Empire has grown, the ideals that it has stood for, and the inevitability of the conflict that we have just left behind us. In teaching, up to this time, the old world has been counted so interesting that the new world has been left alone, but in truth the new world is so interesting that if there is to be any one-sidedness in the matter it is the new world to which the attention of our students should be most chiefly drawn. One may learn much of the old without being stimulated to trace its development in the new, whereas one can hardly learn much of the new without being driven backward to seek its roots in the old. A somewhat similar unreality has spread itself over the teaching of Scriptural history. The idea implicit in the teaching which a great many of us received was that in that Old Testament story there was a divine providence at work that was altogether peculiar to the period and not to be expected in any subsequent age. So the element of magic was always thought of as entering into it, and the Bible story was separated from us by the feeling that these things happened in another range of existence in which different principles were operative. It is to be hoped that a better type of thing has now come into being, and that our students are urged to realize that the history of to-day is moved by exactly the same conditions that ordered it in the centuries before Christ, and that, if we only had eyes to see it, the newspapers of these last few years, with that wonderful story of hope and distress, of hope and of again distress—of distress but never of despair—are a vindication of right and of God more wonderful than anything that the teaching of history, sacred or profane, has ever before exhibited.

The greatest things that the world has seen have been wrought out under the eyes of us, plain prosaic men that we are. The greatest heroism that the world has ever known has been shown by men, not trained to the profession of war, but gathered from the prairies, the Universities, the offices, and the business streets of our cities. An age that thought itself materialistic beyond all that had gone before it has proved that it can be moved by ideals which, translated into words, it would have scoffed at. As a people we have been afraid of fine phrases and of vast idealistic conceptions. We have distrusted oratory. It has seemed to us to have been linked with unreality. We have been inclined to think that enthusiasm was bad form. We held it not unnatural for the Frenchman to talk about "liberty, equality, fraternity," about "glory" and "victory," but our tongues were tied when we strove to utter these great phrases. But the reality behind the words we have striven for, and have seen it brought to fruition. It is time that we put into phrase and teaching some of the conceptions that have lain behind the growth of our Empire, for we have been so busy making history that we have not had time to stop and think of the ideals through which our history has been made.

There is a great need for a teaching that shall have as its first object, not the filling of the memory with facts, but the kindling of enthusiasm and the effort to perpetuate a temper. Nor is this teaching to be identified with jingoism. It is not the spread-eagleism with which some friends of ours are familiar. There is here, in this Empire of ours, somehow or other, a result that is without parallel, an effect which has no analogy in the history of any other race. How has this thing come to be? What are the qualities in the race that has created it? Has it been the result of an adventurous temper? Or is it because the younger sons, denied their share in the paternal inheritance, have thrust out to the ends of the earth to create a patrimony for themselves? Or has it been an accident that a nation which loved the sea and counted everything that floated human, sent its sons faring forth in cockle-shells to a land when there were still great spaces to be occupied? Whatever it be, it is a story the origin of which is well worth inquiring into, and, wherever you touch it, it is full of the human, the picturesque, and the brave. It has been the work of the statesman at home, of the adventurer, the explorer, the planter, the black-sheep, the saint. It is history, biography, discovery, sheer greed, glowing missionary enthusiasm, accident, design, sacrifice, attainment. Nothing in the wide world can be quite as interesting as a study of this growth of the Empire. Nothing can have greater effect in strengthening the bonds of Empire than the keeping alive a temper that must have been inherent in our stock.

The belief that we have here something to kindle our pride is comparatively new, not because the Empire is new, but because pride in the Empire is newborn within us. When many of us here were young the idea was largely prevalent in the Old Country that the Colonies were a source of weakness and not of strength, and that what was to be looked for was not their closer approximation to the British demesne, but their inevitable separation or even absorption into other nationalities, geographically their neighbors. It is difficult to say whether a book creates the frame of mind or whether a general frame of mind comes to make itself articulate in a book. But Seeley's "Expansion of England," published in 1883, is perhaps more than anything else responsible for the change of attitude. That was, indeed, a seminal book, and it was speedily recognized to be such. Men going up for the Indian Civil Service examinations in the eighties knew that it was essential they should be acquainted with its thesis. I do not know who the examiner of that period was, but the men who went out in past years to administer India were indoctrinated with its views. We read much in these days of the historical teaching that lead the German nation off upon the paths of aggression which have proved to be the road to undoing. Seeley, though you hear less of him, was just as powerful in his own way as Treitschke. We also have had our great teachers, but there has been with us an unconscious discrimination against the man whose work was the sowing of ideals. Seeley's general view was that the greatness of England so far from being expressed by the Colonies was, on the contrary, due to the Colonies and particularly to India. That broad thesis, worked out with immense knowledge and great literary grace, has been boundless in its results upon the minds of those who have had leadership in Old Country politics. The proof of that result lies in the change of view that you can trace between the eighties and nineties with regard to the dominions.

The attitude towards the Colonies on the part of England has three main periods:

1. There were those centuries from the time of Elizabeth down to 1830, roughly speaking, when the idea prevailed that the Colonies existed for the benefit of the motherland. They were ruled from London by an official who was often completely ignorant of the state of things with which he had to deal, in whose administration there was no continuity, who came to

his work with the presumption that those who dwelt in England across the seas were of a lower social order and of an inferior mental capacity. These colonists must be treated, it was held, as children who would not, or could not, grow up. Warnings enough came to the Colonial office that it was not wise to test the temper of those men who looked back with love to the Old Country. Even the war of Independence, with its staggering results, was not a sufficient lesson of the foolishness of endeavouring to control, as though they were incapable of self-government, the sons of England in the Colonies of England. Let us remember that the change of attitude on the part of the Old Country was due to the growth of Liberal sentiment. Lord Durham's report was manifestly the beginning of a second, better, stage of things, harmonizing in time as in spirit with the Reform movement in England. The reception which that report met with, and the political extinction that it meant for Lord Durham are indicative of the strength of the old view which thought of the relationship between parent land and dependency as only that of the schoolmaster and the pupil. From that time on, however, it came to be realized that the only way in which the great Colonies could be handled was by giving them a large measure of self-determination. There has been in recent years the endeavour to connect the growth of imperialism in England with the teaching of the British Conservative party. No such broad conclusion can be drawn. This has been no matter of party but the utterance of a people, and no man with any historical sense will allow an invidious generalization regarding party to pass in this connection so honoring to all parties. "Party" in the old land has always been confined to home politics not foreign. In this matter of Empire building, "everybody's doing it." The beginning of the impulse, according to the dominions liberty in the handling of their own affairs, was due to that same temper which produced the Reform Bill, and awakened new hopes in the working class. But then it may be asked is it not the case that the attitude we find reflected in John Bright, John Stuart Mill, Goldwin Smith, that belief that the great Colonies were almost bound to separate from their allegiance to the motherland—was it not the case that this teaching was Liberal in its origin? Yes, indeed it was. But it was a not unnatural result of the principles which first of all gave liberty to the Colonies. During the forties and the fifties there was not merely the expectation that the Colonies would separate, but there was almost the hope of it. They were thought of as an encumbrance, as the invitation to all kinds of international disputes. The distance from the centre, the impossibility of getting news, save at interval of months, the likelihood of all kinds of misunderstandings, the mere replacing of the old idea of control with the new thought of freedom:—all this made the generous administration of the dependencies difficult. It was maintained that Britain would be stronger if she were not responsible for these headstrong children. They might go to the devil but they certainly had to go somewhere.

2. This was the period during which autonomous constitutions were worked out, in broad outline at all events, in the Colonies, and the variety of these constitutions is indicative partly of anterior conditions and partly of the existence of other nationalities. In Canada, for instance, the residuary power was left in the Federal Government. In Australia, where the ideas peculiar to the United States were largely followed, residuary power was left in the several states. The tangled story of South Africa, where there was a constant changing of policy on the part of the Old Country, reached some reasonable conclusion only at the end of the Boer War, by which self-government was given, when the guns had hardly time to cool, to conquered peoples; and the results of that magnificant act of Statesmanship have been evident enough in the recent struggle.

3. The third period of colonial development is the one in which we are now living, and it is this that is so well worth teaching to little children in every country school as well as to students in every university. It is time that *we* did a little flag waving and allowed

ourselves occasionally to shout. We only do it once in a life-time—on an Armistice Day! This period is marked by the granting of liberty to the Colonies, and the policy was, although the statesmanship of those earlier days could not see it, the one great means of binding the Colonies more closely to the Motherland. The great free dependencies, because they were free, refused to separate. When the Old Country ceased to press its point of view its point of view was at once recognized. There came a new era of friendship and sympathy, a new loyalty, not of the letter but of the spirit. The Boer war is in one aspect a record of somewhat monotonous failure, a chapter in military history that we are not any too proud of. The indirect effects of that struggle are much more important than the direct. It may be that our repeated defeats on the field taught our generals where the British forces were defective both in leading and in material. But the bold act of statesmanship by which two Republican Confederations, but a few months ago our bitter foes were given autonomy, was a lesson, not to the British Empire only but to the world, of what imperialism means. It was an admission of the fact that unless these distant dependencies were held by affection they could not be held at all. The amazing spectacle that we see to-day is this, that while we all hope for a league of nations which shall embrace the whole civilized world and put an end forever to the possibility of war, we already have a league of nations within a league. And this inner league is held together not by commercial treaties or fiscal devices, or central government control, but by that very thing to which we seem to be unable to give utterance, affection and sentiment. The lion and her whelps! And the whelps grown strong like to remember the fine relationship.

A study such as this must be something different from the study of Colonial History, because it must include not only an account of the self-governing dependencies, but also that splendid story of India. In the Colonies we are dealing with native races that seem to be bound to disappear before the advance of civilization, or with peoples which, while they may not disappear, do not seem to be able to rise to our own ideas of civilization. The problem of India is different. Here we hold our place as conquerors. The question is whether we ever shall be able to abandon this direct control. In India we are dealing with ancient civilizations which show no signs of yielding their special characteristics, with ancient law which we accept as the basis of our administration, with ancient philosophies that may have something to teach us.

In India, too, the climatic conditions are different from those of the great dependencies. The white man does not go to India to stay there. He marries and if his children are to be kept in physical and moral health they must be educated in a cooler land. The administration of India has had no parallel in the world's history for devotion, for ability, for power in handling sympathetically subject races. But this has been done by men who never expected to make their home there, who gave to that great country only their working years, and looked forward to a retiral from service at an age when, in other climates, men feel that they are only reaching their highest powers. The ruling race in India is an alien element. It is a story which makes the blood run quicker. It is a record of the glory and youth of men who carried a great load. Every emergency has its hero to meet it. The Mutiny threw up the Lawrences, and Edwards, and Nicholson, and many another whose deeds are like the story of ancient days. It is a service that claims father and son, father and son, through many generations. For probity, for sympathy, for talent, for breadth of view, it is a section of the world's story that has no parallel. But no one who takes a long view of things will fail to see that the conditions in India can be but temporary. As yet, when only a small proportion of the population can read and write, it is premature to think of giving self-government to those peoples of so many different races. To abandon India just now would mean to leave it, not to any Constitutional government, but to a terrific struggle of race against race, of mountaineer against the man of the plains. And yet, the Montagu-Chelmsford report, and the vast body of discussion the report has awakened, shows clear to all that here again the ideal is before us of free subjects, handling their own affairs, held only by the ties of affection, to a country that they cannot call the motherland but must allow to have been an insuperably wise and sympathetic guide.

It is thus quite evident that what we call an Empire is not an Empire at all in the ordinary sense of the word. Rome was an Empire: for there all the provinces were directly subsidiary to the central Government. The German Empire was an Empire. It had its federal condition of things in Europe, and its colonies over seas were but sources of income, natives terrorized by a policy they could not understand, that policy itself administered by officials who were merely the transmittors, with cruelty peculiar to themselves, of telegraphic instructions. But what we call the British Empire has within it every kind of experiment in government and colonization. In India and Egypt the rule of the British Parliament is sovereign. The variety of races, the long course of oppression, the series of conquests, the debris of past struggles make it impossible at present to count these dependencies, however much they may respect the rule which has given them peace and prosperity, as subjects of immediate self-determination. In other parts of the Empire sovereignty is maintained in fashion so different as in the administration of a Crown Colony such as Newfoundland, or as in the sympathetic free-and-easy handling of the native in some Protectorate such as that of Uganda. No people that ever existed has had the same happy faculty of managing inferior races that has characterized the British. There has been in it something of the rollicking temper of the schoolboy. The German shamefully abused native races in the name of civilization. He imposed upon peoples who hardly knew the meaning of law, some complicated external code, and then smote these children of nature with all the sternness and cruelty of which we know his discredited race to have been capable when the primitive people turned under the abuse. The Belgian—when the Congo was administered by the German Prince on the Belgian throne—harried the natives of those proprietary lands in the effort to draw from them the last ounce of rubber they could gather. But love of order and a genuine human kindliness have gone hand in hand in the British administration. The way in which portions of our Empire have been acquired may or may not be matter for discussion. But the essential righteousness with which the subject races have been handled, once control has been established, is a triumph of good sense and understanding.

If the dependencies of the Empire were composed simply of Indias and Egypts its administration would be relatively simple; and if to the handling of those ancient civilizations there were to be added the governance of backward races the problem would still present a certain community of feature. What makes the question infinitely complicated is that at points far removed from one another on the earth's surface there are three groups of Colonies or dependencies which are free and self-governing, nations in themselves; and since the beginning of this Peace Conference they have been seen in very special measure by the whole world to be nationalities. The term "Empire" does not cover the facts, indeed it implies a relationship different from what actually exists. There is no "imperium" in the strict sense over Canada or Australia or South Africa. Any attempt to exert an imperium wonld be at once challenged. They are great self-governing peoples, filled with loyalty to the motherland, ready to sacrifice the best of their blood and all their treasure in her defence. The question of the relationship of these dominions to the Mother of Parliaments is one that is pressing for some kind of definition now, and it requires to be set forth in all calmness by men of balance of mind, familiar with the historical conditions that may hinder or forward a solution. Even before the War, as the members of the Empire Club very well know, the matter was being discussed from all angles. Mr. Chamberlain's famous abandonment of the historic position of Free

Trade in the effort to bind the Dominions together in a commercial union, the gradual calling into council, at first only intermittent but now constant, of representative over-seas statesman, finally the position urged by Mr. Borden while these words are being written that Canada should have her two representatives at the Peace Conference, sitting there as representing one of the great participating powers in the War—all this has thrust forward the question of the relationship of the Dominions to the Empire with a new urgency. Nothing is to be gained now by steering clear of plain statement. There *is* an issue and it is no small matter for thanks that it has been brought forward at a time when the old unity has been made multifold union by the sacrifices we have all made and by the outcome of the struggle through which we have just passed. It may very well be that the question of the relationship between the British government and the great dependencies will be settled in these days by the force of events instead of being left to the long arbitrament of argument and propagandism. That it is capable of a happy solution no one questions. This is no issue that has come to us as the ill-fated heritage of centuries of mis-government or of obstinacy. This is the legitimate problem of the Empire's development. If dependencies feel that now they are able to claim they are something more than dependencies, it is because they have won that position by their stupendous and victorious fight for a cause which they felt to be right, a cause of liberty of which they recognized that the Old Country stood as a symbol. What is the stage of development that we have reached? The Empire is to be held together: on that we are all agreed. What is the nature of the alliance to be? Can we knit together the various elements that constitute the Empire by means of some governing body in London representative of each of the Dominions, or shall we trust to that loyalty which underlies the sense of our colonial nationalism?

No constitutional question is at present nearly so important as this; and it is evident that whether the matter is to be settled within a short time or left to a more lengthy solution by the working of forces that are already manifest, there is an urgent need for teaching so that men passing through our Universities and bound to influence the destinies of the Empire may bring to the consideration of the question not merely that sympathy which may so rapidly become prejudice but also the exact knowledge that underlies all sound statesmanship.

For at present there is no consensus of view. We are familiar with the ideas of Mr. Curtis, and are doubtless all readers of the "Round Table Magazine," and have whole-hearted sympathy with the objects Mr. Curtis has in view. We believe that the British Empire is the most powerful thing in the world, and we know how the crisis of these last years has knit various portions of it more closely than ever together. We sympathize with every effort to ensure that the policy of the Imperial Parliament shall be the policy of Great Britain and of all her dependencies. We wish to be certain that the co-operation of the dependencies will always be hearty and unforced. Such has been the nature of their aid in both the Boer and the Great War, but circumstances might very well be conceived in which the interest of one or all of the dependencies might be different from that of the motherland. In that case the dissolution in some degree of the Empire would seem to be inevitable. Is it possible to devise any plan which would suffer only such action to be taken as has each Dominion behind it?

More than one scheme has been put forward for a Parliament of the Empire in London on which all the Dominions would be represented and which would be binding upon all the signatories. One of the most developed of such proposals was that of Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand, at the Imperial Conference of 1911. He proposed that an Imperial Parliament of Defence should be created "empowered to determine peace or war, to fix the contributions required from the component members of the Federation towards the cost of adequate Imperial defence, to shape the foreign policy in so far as it affected the Empire, to enter into international agreements and to transact such other imperial business as might by common agreement be transferred to its jurisdiction." This Imperial Parliament was to have two chambers. The lower house was to be formed by three hundred members elected for a five years' term, by the white electors of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, on the basis of one member for every two hundred thousand people. The upper house was to be composed of twelve members, two being elected by each branch of the confederation for a term and in a manner to be determined by each division of the Empire. On its financial side this parliament was for the first ten years to have no power of Taxation, but each of the Dominions was to pay an amount to be arranged to the Exchequer of the Imperial Parliament of Defence. After ten years both the amount to be raised and the manner in which it should be raised was to be determined by each Dominion legislature.

At the time this proposal was made I was still a citizen of the Old Country and I shall never forget the temper in which it was received. It was regarded as being an attempt to run the old land from outside, and certainly the manner in which it was put forward by Sir Joseph Ward gave ground for the idea that he considered Old Country politicians to be back numbers, and the Old Country fiscal policy as something that should be immediately departed from. The presupposition of the scheme was that free trade for the United Kingdom should go by the board, while the fact that this parliament would displace the present parliament at Westminster, or at least reduce it to the condition of a Provincial Legislature, caused the ghosts of Westminster to walk. An Upper House which was composed overwelmingly of members of the overseas dominions did not commend itself to the Old Country which felt that in the event of war its position was entirely different from that of Canada. Nor did the scheme take into adequate consideration the problem of India, and India to the citizen of the old land means a great deal more than it ever can mean to a politician like Sir

Joseph Ward, always adopting a certain attitude towards colored races and thinking of them only as an element to be kept as far removed as possible. But India would not be allowed to come to any Imperial Parliament upon a basis of representation. How could Canada, with eight millions, and Australia with less than five millions of people, stand in voting power against the representatives of three hundred millions? The only alternative would be to leave India and the Crown Colonies as they are at present, under the rule of separate offices, and so to perpetuate a system of things which we feel must be only a temporary if a very noble piece of administration. Lord Morley will not live to see the fruits of his suggestions, and the Montagu-Chelmsford report may be as one born out of due time; but there is no question as to the general line of policy which is being adopted for India. The object of the rule is to make the confused races of that great Peninsula capable of self-government.

But the strongest criticism of the scheme of Sir Joseph Ward, as indeed of all the schemes of Imperial Federation by means of a Parliament sitting in London, has come from the Dominions themselves.

1. It means, to begin with, a reversion to that policy of centralization against which the Colonial history of the last eighty years has been a continuing and strenuous protest. We have often had reason to complain of the old countryman's ignorance of the problems and geography of the dependencies. He measures distances by decimals of a decimal; he tries to apply to the political life of the Dominion the party cries familiar to him in such very different conditions. But there is a corresponding ignorance on the part of the Canadian and Australian of things as they are in an older civilization. All problems cannot be solved by the cutting of knots if there is going to be any string left, and some of the knots in English law and tradition seem to the outsider to be merely wilful tangle-making. The fact is that while we are all citizens of the same Empire, we acquire insensibly and sometimes with amazing rapidity the characteristics of the continent or of the

dominion in which we live. We do become different from one another. It is common-place that in Canada the Scotchman fits into the new niche with more ease than the Englishman. But the very saying, whether it be true or not, implies that there is a difference between the Canadian and the Old Countryman. What, it may be asked, would be the effect on the Canadian member of that Imperial Parliament of a long sojourn in London. He would come to live with the English governing class; he would begin to look at the things of his own Dominion through English spectacles; he would become Decanadianized. That might be a result to be sought if the object of the centralization were to produce a uniformity of British Empire type. But that is not the object. It is important that different types be developed. And yet the Canadian, living in Canada, would become not a little impatient with his representatives across the seas, if he felt that they were changing their habit of mind and instead of remaining Canadians were tending to become internationalized or denationalized imperialists.

2. However strong the Imperial sentiment be among us, and how strong it is has been made plain enough by the record of the Overseas Dominions in the war, that sentiment must not clash with the desire of the Dominions to order their own affairs. At present they are practically independent. They fix their own taxation; they arrange their own fiscal policy; if they aid in imperial defence it is because they are proud of stock from whence they are sprung. The relationship is so acknowledged and strong because it rests simply on sentiment, and not on law or contract. But, supposing Imperial affairs were to be ordered by an Imperial Parliament, strife might very soon arise with a Dominion Legislature. Australia has definite views as to the necessity of maintaining a white population and excluding the yellow races. Canada has set itself definitely against the admission of the Hindus, fellow-subjects of the Empire, and fellow-soldiers on many a hard fought field. On broad Imperial grounds the Imperial Parliament might declare that there must

be freedom of access to all parts of the Empire for all citizens of the Empire. It is quite conceivable that a policy which would act for the good of the whole might be considered by a part as harmful in the extreme to that part. Under such a condition of things what would happen? It is not possible to coerce. The only practicable course would be to allow the Dominion concerned to have its own way, but the prestige of the Imperial Parliament would receive a rude blow.

In truth the history of the rise and growth of the various dominions is so different that it is not possible to imagine a uniform policy covering all the various issues which might arise. Canada and South Africa have both a race problem and a language problem. Thus, generally stated, the problems are similar; and yet, as we know, the whole setting is different. The Dutch element, conquered only the other day, is administering South Africa with a zeal for imperialism shown on many a field and in the person of statesman and soldier such as Smuts and Botha. In Canada the problem of religion has been added to that of race and language and it seems to make all the difference. The fact that France was struggling for existence did not swing the French Canadian into the war. The fact that Holland was a neutral did not keep the Boer out. And when fiscal matters are to be taken into consideration the conditions of Canada and Australia are different. The long haul from Lake Superior to Winnipeg, and the proximity of the markets in the United States, constitute a peculiar element in the issue in Canada. Australia, seagirt and a continent in itself, under the one flag, presents a different problem. South Africa, where the white are outnumbered ten to one, by blacks increasing rapidly in numbers, has an issue quite other than that of Canada where the native races are negligible though held in esteem, or Australia, where the aborigines are of the most primitive existing type of man, and disappearing before the white. Again the fact must be stressed that this is not in the strict sense an empire, but a congeries of great states, held together by loyalty to a King, and a flag, and a race, and an ideal, each portion certain in the future, as in the past, to develope, under its particular conditions, its own characteristics.

The war again asserted this view of things; and it is evident that already, in the negotiations at the Peace Conference, the Dominions are going to be recognized as self governing nations, entitled to their representation at the Table, not because of their origin, but because of their potency as states. Almost unconsciously, in the last fortnight, we have moved beyond the Round Table plan and the centralization idea, and have come to a restatement of the alliance view. There are many men and women full of patriotism, who wish that some coherent scheme of Imperialism could be wrought out; but as a race we have never been systematizers, and, even if we had been, the attempt to bring an Empire comprised of such divers elements and scattered all over the habitable globe under a system is an attempt to square the circle. The only thing that has kept the Empire together is affection; and affection and sentiment are the only elements that will hold it. The days were when it looked as if the Dominions would drop away and set up house for themselves. That day is further off now than it was five and twenty years ago, when Goldwin Smith was in his strength. As an Empire Club it is your business to keep this Empire sentiment alive and so to help in binding together the various members of this unique phenomenon in history. There are many ways in which you can do this, but one of the most obvious is by the establishment in one or other of the Canadian Universities of a chair in Imperial History which would be not only a great teaching influence but a centre from which literature dealing with the subject might be circulated. If the idea is worth carrying out at all it should be done in no niggardly way. The man fit to fill a chair of this kind would need to have something of the prophet in him, a living force as well as a teacher. But is this not injecting politics into the Universities? I am not afraid of a name. If it be politics to awaken the imagination of men and women to the greatness of the heritage into which they have been born, to kindle their sense of responsibility for its worthy continuance, to impress them with the magic of ideals, to tell to the next generation and to all the generations which shall come after that story which some of us here have been allowed to see in its most tragic if most noble chapters, then in the name of all that is honourable and of good report let us have some of this politics in the training of our generous youth.

Gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you for the patient hearing you have given to this long address, but you see the general line. I think if an Empire Club such as this could take steps to encourage the teaching of Imperial History, not merely as a matter of dates and events, but as an inspiration, as an ideal, as a movement, teaching the young, who are growing up, that they have got something indeed to be proud of in the grand heritage of history, they will do a great service to Canada and the Empire. (Loud applause.)

CANADA'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN EUROPE

AN ADDRESS BY LIEUT.-COL. SIR GEORGE McLAREN BROWN

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, February 4, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: The community spirit found expression during the war, and in no province more than in Ontario. Great campaigns were organized on a basis of Toronto raising 25 per cent. of the whole allotment of Ontario, and the other parts of Ontario raising 75 per cent., the result being that we went over the top for an amount in excess of our allotment. That contributed a splendid spirit of comradeship, so that to-day we hear no facetious remarks from Torontonians in regard to the inflated aspirations of our good friends in Hamilton; and they will not permit any thing to be said along the lines of Toronto being known as "Hogtown"; and so to-day we can congratulate Hamilton once again on having produced another distinguished citizen. (Hear, hear.) We can join with Hamiltonians in paying him a tribute. We can rejoice

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Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George McLaren Brown is a Hamilton boy, educated in England, Hamilton and Upper Canada College. He entered railroad service in 1881 and has been a student of transportation problems ever since. His service with the C.P.R. in charge of their sleeping and dining car service, their steamship lines, and since 1908 as their general European Agent, has made him one of the world authorities on transportation. During the past year he has acted as Assistant Director-General of Movements and Railways at the War Office in London, and he has there displayed that rare organizing and executive ability for which he is noted. In the London Office of the C.P.R. he has become well known to thousands of Canadians who came to him for purely business reasons and who left feeling that he was their friend.

with them in welcoming him home. You know that Hamiltonians, when they wanted to find out something about their men-folk at the front, did not write to Ottawa, did not cable the War Office in London; they simply communicated with Sir George Brown, knowing that he would not go back on them—and he didn't. (Applause.) In fact, there is a story of a young lady who had not heard from her young man for five or six weeks, and she promptly wrote Sir George Brown to find the reason why, and on the afternoon of the day on which he got the letter he telegraphed, with his concise and somewhat military abruptness, this message—"Letters, kisses, for Heaven's sake write at once to-night, good-night." (Laughter.) We have welcomed a great many distinguished guests here, but he is one of our own, and it is a great pleasure for us to welcome him here to-day, and I am going to ask you to rise and welcome him by drinking his health and then giving three cheers and a tiger. (The audience rose, drank the health of the guest, and sang "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow.")

Sir George Brown, on rising, was greeted with loud applause, and said:—Mr. President, Your Honor, My Lord Bishop, and Gentlemen of the Empire Club of Toronto, I am deeply touched by the warmth of your reception, and I thank you, sir, for your kind and all too flattering remarks. You honored me indeed in asking me to speak before such a representative and influential company of my fellow-countrymen, and naturally I would wish, above all else, to be able to do justice to the occasion, but frankly, at the moment, I am sobered by the consciousness of my limitations, and find myself seriously at a loss. The best that I can promise is but a rambling talk, disjointed, pointless, and I fear leading nowhere.

I observe from this card that I am expected to speak on Canadian achievements, presumably overseas, and on the prospects for Canada in trade in the future. And first, what man alive can tell the story of the glory of Canada's fighting men, or the equally uplifting story of the self-sacrificing devotion of Canada's glorious women? (Hear, hear and applause.) Such an undertaking, gentlemen, is beyond my powers. But I find, when I go on telling that story to myself often and often, as I pass in review before me that host of gallant Canadian souls who, with such unselfish courage, went forth to the fight that we all might live, I, as a Canadian, pray that I may be never permitted to forget the duty we owe them (Hear, hear.) and that I may be privileged in some way as yet unknown, to contribute my quota to the cancellation of that debt. (Applause.) The deeds of the Canadian Corps speak louder than words, and nothing that I could say would add one iota to the honor and glory they have attained.

My duties in the Imperial service have not specially brought me in contact with the Canadian fighting forces, but, as you can well imagine, I never missed an opportunity of visiting the Canadian lines whenever I have been in their vicinity; and everywhere I have met them —in the fighting line, or behind the line at rest—that same considerate, generous spirit has prevailed always. You hear very little among the fighting men of Canada of their deeds, and my experience has shown me that if you really wish to form a true appreciation of what they have done, it is necessary to get in touch with officers and men of the Home Land Forces— unstinted, generous in their praise of their Canadian comrades in arms. Often and often have I listened to conversations not addressed to me, but conversations between British officers, that have made me blush with pride as I have listened to the tributes paid to my countrymen. (Applause.) Only a few months ago I was privileged to hear the Commander-in-Chief at his own dinner-table at his advanced headquarters pay a tribute to the Canadian courage and efficiency, that should be added to our history. He had about him only members of his staff, myself, and one other outsider. It was just prior to their first great advance. They had taken their position before Cambrai—I may add that the Commander-in-Chief did not know at that time that I was a Canadian—and he turned to his Chief of Staff, who had reported something in connection with the Canadians, and said, "But I have no anxiety as to the result where the Canadians are placed." (Applause.)

I rather emphasize this attitude of the British towards Canadians, and those other forces from the overseas Dominions, because I have heard it thoughtlessly stated by those who are probably not in a position to know the true facts, that British appreciation of the efforts and achievements of the overseas Dominions is non-existent. Believe me, gentlemen, that is not the case. Believe me that I know what I am talking of when I tell you that the achievements of the overseas Dominions loom far larger in the minds of the average Britisher than do his own miraculous performances. I have not time to enlarge upon this theme, and I would merely say in passing that the people of Great Britain have done miracles, and not one man in twenty thousand had the slightest conception of any of it, and would rather resent any intimation of the fact—"All in a day's work," "It has got to be done," and "Do it and don't talk about it," is their motto. (Applause.)

God knows they were unprepared on that fatal 4th of August, 1914, and the world knows how they have risen superior to their then disabilities. That strong fundamental character of the race that has saved the nation in other crises throughout its history was on that day found to be still alive, and we know the results at this moment. I admit readily that those great hearts of the Old Land from which we of Canada have sprung are in many respects strange to us, difficult to understand, but I submit that the fault is rather with us in our lack of understanding, and I assert without fear of contradiction, that whatever their peculiarities, whatever their ways, there is one thing certain, and that is that they are truly great. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I have probably dwelt on that point too long. I am here to talk about my own countrymen, but I think it is well that you should all know, and that you should all appreciate beyond all question, the true feeling that exists in Great Britain towards their fellow-subjects throughout the Empire. The story of our fighting forces and of our nursing sisters is known to most of you; even the dry-as-dust official records, thrilling enough in themselves, tell that bald story, and history will relate that story in fuller detail. There are other Canadians and other Canadian forces at the front with the doings of which you are probably not so familiar; I refer to the really strong troops of Canadian foresters, the Canadian Red Cross, Y.M.C.A., Salvation Army, and similar other institutions. In addition to those, which are purely Canadian, we find in almost every branch of the British service Canadian units serving under British officers You have the railway operating companies, the railway shop companies, units working within the directory of the Inland Water Transport. You find them in the Department of Docks and Dock Construction. In fact, you find them whereever there is or has been any military activity.

Dealing first with the Railway Construction Troops of Canada, which I think number some 14,000, being part of a Railway Construction Corps numbering between 30,000 and 35,000, you find them in charge of a well-known Canadian whose name is known throughout the length and breadth of Canada and who, I think I may safely say, will count many friends at this board—I refer to Brigadier-General Jack Stewart. (Applause.) His work has been beyond praise. It is, again, the story of courage and resourcefulness and the highest efficiency. You will probably have the opportunity of hearing that story from that gentleman himself, as I understand he is shortly returning to our native land.

We come to the Canadian Foresters. They also have been wonderful in their performances. They proved their usefulness almost from the very day they landed in England, and now we wonder how it had been possible to have done without them as long as we did. Composed almost exclusively of Canadian lumbermen, they rose to the situation, they maintained the fair name of Canada, they brought honor to themselves. One incident that came under my personal observation may be of interest to you. Some months ago, just about the time that the German push had been effectually stopped, the military authorities in France awoke to the fact that they were dangerously near the serious point of being short of measurement timber, due, I fancy, to the submarine activities and the consequent shortage of overseas tonnage. A rush order was sent from France to England, to the War Office, for 65,000 tons of measurement timber—approximately something like 173 million feet—for delivery in France over a period of six weeks. Time did not permit of getting that enormous supply from Canada or the United States of America. Scandinavia was out of the question because of the submarines. The French demurred at cutting it in France because of the inroads such a great cutting would make upon their beautiful forests; and the only alternative was to sacrifice some of the stately park timber of England, which they can very little spare, or afford to lose; and our Canadian foresters were turned loose. Within five weeks they had cut, sawn and delivered at British ports for trans-shipment to France something more than the entire order. (Hear, hear and loud applause.) It would also interest you to know that the final delivery of all this 173 million feet was made within the specified time at the ports in France where it was most required. (Applause.)

The Railway Operating Companies and the Locomotive Shop Companies come next. The Operating Companies practically dominate that section of transport involving the running of trains on the branch railroads within the British areas. Here, again, our countrymen maintained the high Canadian standard, maintained the fair name of Canada; and brought honor to themselves, because, believe me, their work was not the operating that they would find under normal conditions They were under shell-fire and under difficulties, and faced difficulties that no railroad man, unless he had been at the front and knows what it means, can have any conception of. These men, though not fighting, though not armed with rifles, had their fighting at times to do, and mighty well they did it. (Applause.) That equally applies in the mechanical shops, in the repair shops. When I tell you that notwithstanding all the difficulties of transport, the fact that their rolling stock was constantly under shell-fire, constantly seriously damaged, with an indifferent track causing derailments, and filling the repair shops at all times—when I tell you that notwithstanding all those circumstances the percentage of rolling stock out of commission has never been beyond six per cent., and is usually about four, you can appreciate the task. (Hear, hear and applause.) You find the Canadian officers in charge; I am now thinking of six mechanical shops with Canadian officers in full charge. I must tell you that these are really British units under British direction, and I am simply citing these to show you to what extent the Canadians are appreciated by those in control of the British forces.

Inland Water Transport is a very important section of the general transport, not only in France, but in every theatre of war. They have operated since early in 1914 a very successful service of barges from a place called Ridgeboro to the northern French ports, and within the last two years have established three train ferries which operate respectively from Ridgeport to Calais and Dunkirk, Southampton to Calais, and from Southampton to Cherbourg. The last port is served by the ferry steamer which, I think, ran across the St. Lawrence River, until a few months ago, in connection with the Grand Trunk service. You find the Canadians in responsible posts in this cross-Channel service, on the canals in France, as on the water-ways and rivers—the Tigris, the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia, you find them in Egypt, you find them now in Russia, and in fact you find them wherever it is possible to utilize the inland water-ways in any of the theatres. I was surprised one day in my office to receive calls from fourteen men, all of whom had known me in my earlier days; when I knew them they were much younger; I had known them as mates and captains of the swift water boats on the upper Columbia River. Those men moved to Mesopotamia, and you all know what wonderful deeds and what wonderful success they obtained in the difficult transport problems of that Mesopotamian campaign.

In the Directory of Docks we found many Canadians, not only in the operation of the northern ports in France used by the British—Cherbourg, Havre, Rouen, Calais, Boulogne, Dunkirk—but now, it is pleasant to be able to say in Ostend, Zeebrugge and Aerschott. (Applause.) For instance, the former Mayor of the Town of Port Arthur, a major in the Canadian Militia, now holding the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Imperial Service, and created as an Assistant Director of Docks, is in charge of the important port of Cherbourg, which is the most northerly channel point in the Cherbourg-Duranteau lines of communication. At the Aldershot end of that Duranteau line you find another Canadian, also a Lieutenant-Colonel, a civil engineer by profession, and if I mistake not, he is a native of the city of Toronto.

One other striking example is that of a Lieutenant in the Canadian Foresters. He did not care very much for the work of the Foresters. He was a dock-man, one of the most important stevedores on the Pacific coast, a man whom I have known since his infancy. Immediately on his arrival in England he called on me, and at that time I had been asked to recommend a young active chap, a good stevedore, to take charge of one of the quays at Dunkirk. He was recommended, accepted by the general in charge of that particular branch, and he made good, subsequently practically dominating the entire business of that most important port in northern France as far as the British were concerned. (Applause.) Just about this time a mission was sent to Mesopotamia to look into the large question of transportation in that region. I was again asked to nominate a man to go with that mission as an expert on dock construction and the operation of ships within the docks.. This officer, who by this time was a captain, was accepted; he went there with the mission as a major, and to-day holds the rank of full Colonel and the grading of Director-General of Docks and of Dock Construction at the important port of Basuk. (Applause.) I could go on *ad lib* with such examples, but surely these are sufficient to give you the general idea that the Canadians who have left this country in the great cause have not failed. I do not know of one single instance where a Canadian in the British service has failed to maintain and uphold the good name of Canada, or has failed in bringing honor to himself. Do not let it ever be thought that all this work is not appreciated by our fellow-subjects of Great Britain.

I am expected now to say something of the future opportunities for Canada, presumably also abroad. If there is any man who has the temerity to prophesy to-day as to the immediate future he has much more self-confidence than I have. Though the fighting has ceased, let us hope for good, on the western front, it goes merrily on in other theatres, and to that extent at least the war is not over. Unrest prevails throughout the civilized world. Chaos is rampant over most of it, and that chaos is not without its reflection on the Western Hemisphere. There is no doubt in the world that the ultimate destiny of Canada will never be affected; that she will go on and on; but to say what is in the immediate future I think is beyond any man's mind. Your first duty in Canada appears to me, as it is in England, to settle your own and keep your hearts open to the calls not only of the widows and the fatherless, but of those hundreds of crippled men, physically and mentally disabled, to whom you owe so much. (Hear, hear, and applause.) If you as Canadians are alive to this—your first and to-day your only duty—as I believe you are, I am firmly convinced that everything else will follow—the spiritual advancement and material progress of this country and of my countrymen. That must follow in natural sequence. If you fail, however, in your first duty, then you cannot promise yourselves anything in any other respect. I believe, in fact I think—it is with me more than belief, it is knowledge—that out of this welter of evil that has been permitted to over-run the civilized world, good and only good can result (Hear, hear.) but at the same time, before that good does come I feel that we are faced with graver problems, problems of greater danger, than we have ever faced during the past five terrible years; and I would say that if unity of purpose and of action have been found necessary during those five years, it is doubly so the case to-day. (Applause.) I do not expect the difficulties in Canada which may possibly have to be faced in England, but I believe that the strong character and national common-sense of the people of Canada will pull this country through, just as I believe that the sound common-sense of the British people will help them to overcome the pitfalls that lie in front of them. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I hope you will pardon me, a Canadian, for speaking as I am, but my heart is full; I have been a long time from my own country, and I feel an exaltation as I breathe again the air of my native land, as I absorb again that Canadian atmosphere that will, I believe, continue to make strong, upright and good men. I do believe that Canada's future is assured if you are but true to yourselves. The old order changeth, and if you are honestly prepared to meet the new conditions, there can be no doubt as to the future of the land we love so much. (Loud Applause.)

BRITISH AND AMERICAN RELATIONS

AN ADDRESS BY JOHN A. STEWART

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, February 6, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: Canadians were thrilled when the message came from the United States that our American cousins had decided upon "Britain's Day." (Applause.) In order to pay tribute to our mother-land for the great work she had done in the war. Many nice things have been said by our friends to the south about Canada's part in the struggle, but while we appreciate very much indeed this indication of their friendliness I would like to say to our guest that nothing they did, nothing they said during the whole of the war appealed to Canadians as much as that "Britain's Day" tribute to the mother-land. (Applause.) We have a very real privilege and pleasure in welcoming to-day the one man above all others who was responsible for that "Britain's Day," and I am sure that our hearts

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John A. Stewart was born in Stewartown, Ontario, which was founded by his grandfather. In 1907 in conjunction with President Roosevelt, he began the American-British Friendship Movement; organized the Hundred Years of Peace celebration committees in 1909, and in 1914 was the prime mover in the establishment of the Sulgrave Institute in New York, which was incorporated to foster friendship and prevent misunderstanding among English-speaking peoples. Before the United States entered the war he was active in fostering the strongest sympathy with the Allies, and he with others, in the United States and in Great Britain, organized to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim fathers and the beginnings and development—from Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights down—of the free institutions of the English-speaking nations. As head of the Sulgrave Institute he instituted the celebration of "Britain's Day" in the United States.

will go out to him because of that fact. You know, Canadians would not be human if they were not conscious of the fact that we did our bit along with the other portions of the Empire in the war; but surely we would have been unworthy sons of worthy sires if we had not been willing, nay, anxious, to follow the glorious lead given to us and the glorious example as shown to us by the dear old mother-land. Our guest of to-day is one of the best friends the British Empire has in the United States. He was one of the founders, in conjunction with the late Col. Roosevelt, of the American-British friendship movement. He helped to organize the hundred years of peace celebration committees in 1909 and 1914. He was the moving spirit in the celebrated institution for the purpose of fostering friendship between the United States and the British Empire, and last, but not least, brought about "Britain's Day"; so it must be apparent to you that he has spent a great deal of his time fostering this good-will between the two nations. (Applause.)

Mr. John A. Stewart was received with applause and said: I find, whenever I rise to address a Canadian audience, a tendency inherited from my father, who was of Canadian birth (Applause.) to address my audience as "Mr. Chairman, my friends and fellow-citizens." (Laughter and applause.) Aside from the pleasure which I always find in meeting Canadian friends and in making new acquaintances, at this particular time I find a deeper pleasure because I believe that it is my duty, as it is the duty of everyone of us, at this particular time, to keep constantly in our minds the fact that the world's most important question to-day is not so much the League of Nations as it is unity in essentials among English-speaking peoples. (Hear, hear and applause.) for on that is based the real welfare of humanity. (Hear, hear.)

Where to begin, what phases of this tremendous question to discuss, certainly puzzles anyone who has entered into it deeply. But I want briefly, first of all, to say one thing as the foundation of my argument, and that is, that never yet—except in favor of divinity and through the divine causation—has natural law been suspended in this world for any man or any group of men; no man yet has been able to lift himself by his boot-straps; no man yet, no group of men, have been able to prevent reaction following action. The laws of growth and decay are inevitable, and they control every affair of man, and I seem to find in the project to organize a League of Nations to enforce peace, some elements which seem to exist in contravention of the operation of natural law.

We have gone through a tremendous struggle, and the causes which led up to that struggle reach into the remote past. At the bottom of it is race-consciousness, and race-consciousness, even in the individual, is the most powerful, the most moving sentiment that a man possesses; and after all, no matter what may be said or done, no matter what may be attempted or what may be thought of, in its finality blood is thicker than water, and in the final estimate of things in a great contest, men of one blood and one thought and one mind naturally gravitate together. (Applause.) As a man who supported the movement to bring about the organization of a League of Nations to enforce peace, I want to say that in the beginning I commended it for its idealism, but I held, with Professor Giddings and the late William P. Howland—God bless him—of the "Independent," that the only practicable League of Nations that was possible of organization and permanent maintenance was that between the American Republic and the commonwealth of Great Britain. (Hear, hear and applause.) For when you project the idea beyond that as its foundation, as its melting influence, you project it into directions whence there is a race-consciousness, a diversity of thought and idea, and an opposition of ideals, a certain peculiar and particular way of doing things to which those who hold them are as entitled, as we are to our way of doing things, but which Nature has set down as opposing that which we believe and which we know is the great Anglo-Saxon ideal. And the great Anglo-Saxon ideal, the ideal to which Canada and America and Great Britain adhere, is the ideal of fair play, of giving a fellow a place for his feet, of protecting the weak, of standing out against the strong in favor of the weak, of upholding the ideal of the home; and it is only an English-speaking man that could have conceived the thought and given utterance to it, that "an Englishman's home is his castle," and across his threshold no man, be he president or king, could pass to his despite, save armed by the right of law. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Those are the things which we of Anglo-Saxon blood and birth hold dear, which are our very life, and divested of them we cease to be what we are.

Now, I am not one of those who hold against Germany that she has committed an unnatural crime, because I believe the crime which Germany committed against humanity was natural in the German mind and heart and spirit. I believe that what she did, she did with the unconsciousness of the tiger that rends its prey, (Hear, hear.) and I hold that Germany has done what she has done because it is not her nature to do anything else. (Laughter.) Therefore I do not hold that Germany is so much to blame as others are inclined to. I was asked to-day what I would do had I the power, in punishment of the Kaiser, and I said I should let him be. (Hear, hear and laughter.) That is the great punishment to mete out to a man of his type. Well now, gentlemen, that is just the point. We are, in our nature—in our animal nature, if you will—born possessed of certain impulses. We have a certain natural way of doing things, and that way is what differentiates us from every other nationality; but in us our race-consciousness is no greater than in the minds of other people, and therefore when I say that in the course of events it was inevitable that the practical idealism of the Anglo-Saxon English-speaking world should be opposed in arms by that which Germany represents, why, it was like saying that two times two are four. It was inevitable. And I tell you, just as surely as the Lord Almighty lives, and as we move and have our being under laws imposed by Nature, of which we cannot rid ourselves, that at some time, and not a very long time ahead, we of the English-speaking world will be called upon unitedly to sacrifice for our ideals, for our lives, our liberty and our sacred honor, more than we have sacrificed in this war. Because the time is coming when in this world two ideas will obtain. One is the idea held to-day in the Anglo-Saxon mind, and the other is the idea held east of Berlin; and this world is not large enough for the two ideas to exist side by side without antagonism.

Now, I sat through thirteen meetings of the League to enforce Peace, and I maintain, with Professor Giddings, and with the late William P. Howland, that we should define "League" and that we should define it's nature, and that in its essence and in the final analysis of it, it must be found, as it is being found now at Versailles, that its foundation, its only foundation, the only thing which could give meaning to it, which could vitalize it, which could make it real in the affairs of men, was unity in essentials among people who have the English speech, (Applause.) and beyond that, aside from the natural adherence to such a coalition, are the nations of good-will which could gravitate towards such a combination, such an alliance, such a league, because in that they would find the best assurance for the future.

On my side of the border two opinions hold. One opinion is idealism, which I myself as a Republican, and as a follower of George Washington and Alexander Hamilton, believe to be in contravention of common sense; and the other equally idealistic, is founded upon common experience. I do not believe that you can get the lion and the lamb lying together without the lamb being, inevitably, sooner or later, in the stomach of the lion, (Laughter.) and therefore I came here to-day because I want to impress upon you, my friends, this one fact—and it is the most important fact in the world to-day—that everything that you and I hold dear, everything which the world strives to attain to-day, all its aspirations and the ideals of the Czecho-Slovacs, the Jugo-Slavs, the Poles, and all the little nations that are struggling out into the sun and working only for an opportunity to live and to grow—all of those things are achievable only if we who speak the English tongue stand together and face the future like Britishers. (Loud applause.) All else sinks into insignificance. The fears of the individual, his business and social fears, all of those little petty, insignificant things which come into our daily lives and irritate us when we are a little bilious, and which we overlook when there is not any particular bile on our minds or stomachs—I tell you this is not a time for pin-pricking. (Hear, hear.) This is not a time for a man to say, "Well, you are all right in your place, but I am a little better." This is no time for me to say "My way of doing things is the only way of doing things, and yours is a silly, foolish way." This is the time when any government of any people, I don't care what it is, which assumes as a policy of its politics the attitude of observer of its obligations to its neighbors, indulging in pinpricks or threats which have no basis except in sound, is doing not only a foolish thing but a criminal thing. It is a crime not only against us but against humanity. (Applause.) For I say again that the greatest thing in the world to-day is that we of America, and you of Britain, should stand together shoulder to shoulder to face the future. I cannot repeat that too often. The future is not all full of roses and sunshine and perfumed air; the future holds many grave dangers for us, many perplexing problems which can be solved only if we stand together and collectively attempt their solution. If there be aught of disunity amongst us, then, my friends, inevitably there will be danger.

Now, let me tell you—and these things I say as facts—in 1907, talking with my friend the then President Roosevelt—God bless his memory—(Hear, hear and applause.) I said to him, "Colonel, one of the great things which your administration could do would be to further the ends of friendship between ourselves and Canada, and through Canada with Great Britain;" and he said to me then, as he said to me often afterwards, and particularly when I called upon him as I was organizing the Centenary Committee to celebrate the Century of Peace among English-speaking peoples, that the only practicable, common-sense peace move in the world to-day was that in the direction of friendship between America and Great Britain, for upon that the peace of the world depended. Theodore Roosevelt told me also, not many months ago, that if he lived to be nominated and elected again as President of the United States his chief work would be to bring together the American Republic and the Commonwealth of Great Britain into an indissoluble bond of friendship, and to inculcate the idea in the American mind as well as in the British mind that we sink or swim together. (Loud applause.) Now, that was in the thought of Col. Roosevelt, and he was my friend whose memory I revere. If you will permit a digression, I met him first out on the plains in 1880; he had a ranch up in the Little Missouri country, and I was down in the Jim River country. We were what in that section is known as neighbors-in-law; that is to say, he was one hundred and twenty-five or one hundred and fifty miles away. Our nearest neighbor was ten miles, and I think the next was twenty-five or thirty miles, and we who were out there in those days had a habit of intimacy, and our thoughts as regards one another were very friendly. You may remember, in Owen Wister's book, "The Virginians," about a Virginian who went west and became a cow-puncher, and how he pointed a revolver at the man who used a certain friendly epithet towards him and said, "Smile, damn you, smile;" and the first time I heard of Theodore Roosevelt was that affair he had in Little Missouri, that is, after he had gone with his rifle after a couple of cattle thieves, and he had captured them and brought them back to the nearest hamlet, and they were prosecuted in the court, and sent up for long terms. That was one of the things which Roosevelt did. Despite the lineage of which he often boasted, his Dutch ancestry—while it may have cropped out a little in his appearance, and in his mind and activities, in his way of looking at things, in his way of playing the game, in his way of hitting hard in the thing that he believed to be right—Theodore Roosevelt was as fine an example of Anglo-Saxon heredity as lived on earth while he was on earth. (Hear, hear and applause.) Always in his mind ran the thought that the peace of the world depended upon Anglo-American initiative, and that it was in that direction the policy of the government of the United States should tend. I remember one day when my wife and I were guests at the White House, shortly before the American fleet went around the world—and there was wonderment in the minds of many people as to why the President should order that done, and some said, "Oh, it is directed to this country or that country, or Great Britain," and though all the pro-Germans were very active at that time and said, "Why, we have only one enemy in the world towards whom it could be directed:"—it happened that there was a country that had been indulging in pinpricks. The navy accomplished a great adventure, and perhaps to some extent saved that country from the consequences of its conduct by the action of Mr. Roosevelt, who took one practicable means of demonstrating the capacity of the United States at that time to stand upon its own feet and fight its own battles. What he did was a matter of practical politics, and as it worked out it accorded precisely with the preconceived idea he had in his mind as to what would be the result. At luncheon one day at that time he said, "If I were to tell the people of America what we have had to stand for the last year there would be such a wave of indignation roll from Maine to California that I would not myself be responsible for the result; but the situation has inclined me more and more to believe that the peace of the world and the welfare of humanity rest with people who have the English speech, and that the American policy and British policy should be one, which should draw us together and which should not tend towards any disseverance." I hope you will pardon this digression, because I could speak for several hours of Col. Roosevelt, and I want to say to you, my friends, at this present moment, that the great thing with Canadians, not as Canadians but as individuals; and the great thing with Americans, not as Americans but as individuals, is this matter of Anglo-American friendship;

and it must be furthered, and it shall be, and nobody, whether German, or Sinn-Feiner, will be permitted to drive a wedge into that friendship which has been baptized in the blood of the trenches, and which in a spiritual way has sacrificed much, not for herself, but for others. (Loud applause.)

Now let me tell you that what the Germans and their allies did before America went into the war, and what they did, beginning with 1907, is as nothing compared with what they are trying to do to-day. The campaign of deliberate lying, of deliberate attempt to deceive, of deliberate attempt to stir up prejudice and race feeling, is on foot, and the victims of this plot are to be the United States of America, the Commonwealth of England, and France. Agents are abroad as part of an organization, and they are doing an organized work in the United States, in Great Britain, in France, in Canada —a work which tends to instil subtle suspicion into the minds of Americans—"Well, after all, the British are not such good friends of ours as they try to make out," or—"Well, the Canadians talk friendship, but this thing is so, that thing is so, and do they really mean it?" or—"Well, the American soldiers were gouged by the French, who were after the money in the soldiers' pockets, who cared nothing for their welfare"—and so on, and so on; and "We did not find a very friendly reception in France." And thus stories are being told, and they are told circumstantially, and names and dates are given, and there is just enough of a shred of a basis of fact in what is said to make the lie all the more dangerous. Now, this is no time to permit ourselves to be prejudiced or biased by little things. (Hear, hear and applause.) To use the words of a great American statesman in a time of anger recently on the floor of the Senate—for which he afterwards apologized—"I don't care a 'damn' what any particular newspaper says; I don't care what any organization says; I don't care what any society says; I don't care how much lying is going on; I will not be moved from the thought of the main objective, the great thing in my life and the lives of others, in the welfare of the world, and that is, friendship among English-speaking peoples." (Hear, hear and applause.) And this is a time when each man should say to himself, "I swear by all that I hold most dear, and by the Lord above, that I will not be moved from my thought of friendship for my blood-kin, no matter what lies Germans or Sinn Feiners may tell." (Hear, hear and applause.)

Now, there are many ways in which friendship may be cultivated. The first and great essential of friendship is association. Men must meet men. In a very, humble way, in the way in which I am doing here to-day, Canadians must go to America as prophets and teachers, and Americans must come here. Americans must go to Britain, and the British must come to America. That is being done on a small scale, but it is not done on a large scale. Everything that tends to bring together in large numbers the peoples of our respective nations is a furthering of the ends of good understanding, because, after all, friendship is based only upon understanding; men who do not understand each other cannot be friends. Therefore it was in the mind of Col. Roosevelt, as it is in the mind of thousands and thousands of Americans, that we organize a committee to celebrate the Century of Peace, that what we should do would be to bring together hundreds and thousands of Americans, of Canadians, of citizens of Great Britain, into friendly association so that they may know how superficial are the differences which divide them. (Applause.) That is the great thing and the main thing, and we are about to further that end in the United States through the initiation of a movement, which has a splendid start in Great Britain, to celebrate the Tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, on December 18th, 1920, and not on the rock-bound coast, but on the contrary, on the muddy coast of Plymouth. And that is one of the great outstanding events in Anglo-American history, for in the Mayflower compact, which was a compact entered into by the Pilgrims on board the *Mayflower,* only a few days before they landed at Plymouth, they agreed upon a scheme of government, and that government had in it really the essence of democracy, a Republican democracy, of the responsibility of the majority, to which those things only are a trend toward the general welfare; and only the year before, in the state of Virginia, there was held the first legislative assembly on the soil of America, and that was a great outstanding event in Anglo-Saxon history, because that marked in a way, the development of the great Anglo-Saxon democratic movement. Those things we want to celebrate in co-relation with that great world-event, Magna Charta, and the revolt of the 17th century, which by some is called the Cromwellian Revolution, and by others the Revolution of the Commonwealth. The American Revolution, was a revolution of Englishmen against Englishmen, a revolution of Englishmen against the tyranny of a German king, a man who could not speak the English language, (Applause.) led by an Englishman in whose veins there was not another drop of blood but English blood, who, on his knees praying to God Almighty, looked forward to the day when the colonies of England should compose their differences upon a friendly basis, and that there should be no physical disseverance of that relationship which had endured for nearly two centuries. Then, later, the formulation and the drafting of the constitution of the United States, and later the Emancipation Proclamation, the essence of which was democracy, equal rights. All of those things, up to the time of the Great War, where the Americans and the British and the Canadians stood side by side in defence of their ideals, are milestones in the progress of the Anglo-Saxon world. When I say Anglo-Saxon world I want to call attention to a great outstanding fact of history, that in its democracy those who speak our language and are governed by laws written in the mother tongue are anywhere from one to three centuries ahead of any other nation on earth in the recognition of the rights of man. (Applause.)

What we need to-day more than anything else is a consciousness of race, a consciousness of what the democracy of the English-speaking world means, a consciousness of the things which we have done, a consciousness of the things for which we stand, a consciousness of the cause underlying all the democracy of the English-speaking nations. The finality and the very foundation, the very corner-stone of that which may be, in the fulness of time, the League of Nations, not to enforce peace but to give peace the most workable directing, is the sense of obligation which enters to-day into everything we do in a governmental way, and enters into all our social relations. We have achieved it to a degree that other races do not know it. We achieved it when we coined the word, "gentleman," and applied it to a man, not as regards his birth, but as regards his worth. (Applause.) My wife called my attention the other day to the manuscript of a German play, and in that manuscript were these words—it was a comedy, I believe—"Dupes, (not gentlemen) peace to you." There was no word in the German language that meant "gentlemen." (Laughter and applause.) They have filched from us, for purposes of their literature, the word which I believe stands at the very height of all words which express human and humane things. (Applause.) We have achieved what no other people have achieved; and I do not say it in the spirit of boasting, but in the spirit of historic fact and historic accuracy; we have achieved a sense of that which in itself represents in its essence a very distinct achievement in human development, that is to say, we have evolved that sense of humanness for which no word has as yet been coined to give to it a proper and adequate expression, that is to say, the sense of philanthropy, by which I mean that we not only stand to be taxed for humane ends, not only to maintain our eleemosynary institutions, but wherever the hand of Providence rests heavily upon any land, be it a flood in China, a famine in Ireland—and this is a good thing for some of the Irish to remember—(Laughter.) or a famine in India, there the philanthropic sense of the English-speaking peoples extends, and aid is rushed to that spot to succor the distressed, and we never think whether the man is white or yellow or black, or what his race or what his creed. (Loud applause.)

Every year there is given in the United States for purposes which are classified as philanthropic, more money, ten times over, than is given by all the rest of the world put together; and everywhere throughout the English-speaking United States you will see great buildings devoted to Art or Science or Literature or Education. There you see the hospital devoted to the suffering sick; here you see a great foundation with millions and millions at its command, devoted entirely to the furthering of the plans to relieve world-distress; or an investment which tends to further the condition of general health, to eradicate disease, to abolish poverty. Everywhere in the English-speaking world are these institutions, and appliances and means for the amelioration of society physically, mentally and spiritually. (Applause.)

THE JUGO-SLAVS AND THE PROBLEM OF THE ADRIATIC

AN ADDRESS BY W. R. SAVIC

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, February 13, 1919.

THE PRESIDENT introduced Miss Neilson Terry, who recited the poem by Valentine Owen, entitled, "What Has England Done?" The recitation created great enthusiasm, and the audience rose and cheered the young actress.

The President then introduced Mr. Savic as a distinguished Serbian, an able and successful business man; a brilliant journalist and author, and a patriotic soldier, who would relate the story of Serbia.

MR. SAVIC first conveyed the hearty greetings from the Serbian diplomatic representative at Washington, and then said: My task is to put the history of thirteen centuries into a few minutes; to speak of the southern branch of the great Slavic race to which belong the Russians, Ukranians, the Poles, the Jugo-Slavs and

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W. R. Savic, whose book on South Eastern Europe published in January, 1919, has been received in Britain and America as a wonderful historical and literary presentation of the problems of the Balkans, is himself a Serb. He was educated in the Universities of Belgrade, Zürich and Paris and is editor of the most important paper in Serbia and Balkan correspondent of the *"Daily Telegraph."* He represented Serbia in Petrograd during the revolutionary days; spent the first two years with his regiment in the Serbian Army and, after the retreat through Albania, took charge of the Press Bureau in the Foreign Office for his Government. He came to America highly commended as an able Statesman having had a unique opportunity of knowing South Eastern Europe. President Butler of Columbia University says of him: "By birth and training he is a true representative of Serbian democracy, and both his mental attitude and his form of thinking make strong appeal to the Anglo-Saxon."

some other minor peoples. The term Jugo-Slavs means southern Slavs to distinguish us from other Slavs. We came, at the time of the great migration of nations, into the country bordering on the north-east shore of the Adriatic Sea. We came, not as courtiers, but on the invitation of the Byzantine emperors, to settle down peacefully and protect the devastated provinces of the eastern Roman Empire from the invasion of the northern and more barbaric peoples; so you see that upon our first appearance on the scene of history we were assigned a noble part, to protect European civilization against invasions from less civilized people, and to that part my nation has remained faithful until now. (Applause.) The country into which we came is beautiful beyond description, is fertile, and we have taken deep root in it; but we have been few, and that country, so fertile and beautiful, was the goal for more numerous and warlike peoples, all of whom wanted that country, and desired to subjugate my people. We were a peaceful race. When we came down it was recorded by the greatest historian of those times, a Byzantine, Simonides, that already, in the sixth century, the soldiers of the northern tribes made raids into the Slav settlements on the bank of the Danube, and came back with some Slav prisoners. They were tall, big-shouldered men with blue eyes, and only with pipes, and harmless, and when asked who they were they replied: "We are Slavs, coming from the far-off sea, we graze our herds, we make music with our pipes, we know not arms, we do not steal, we do harm to nobody." But the country that we took, and the circumstances under which we lived, were very little favorable to such a race. This country, as you see, and as you have heard through centuries, was always connected with the wars in Europe. It is because this country is upon the great road, because it is practically a bridge connecting the west with the east, and because all the conquering nations of the world had ambitious dreams to build a northern empire, that all of them wanted to pass on that road and to possess that bridge. So, every century, our peaceful nation was obliged to make wars, and little by little to acquire some warlike qualities; and I think that those warlike qualities have served a good purpose many times, and the best in this great war when we fought side by side with you. (Loud applause.)

So, very early, though unorganized in a military way, we fell under the political influence and the civilizing influence of two great centres of civilization, Greece and Rome. The eastern tribes speaking the same language, having the same habits, the same autonomy, found themselves under the influence of Constantinople, and accepted the European civilization represented by the Christian faith in the form of Greek orthodoxy. To that faith a part of my nation has remained faithful until now, and that part is known under the name of Serbs. The western part of my nation is known under two names, Croats and Slavs; they fell under the influence of Rome; they embraced Christianity, and remained faithful to it under the form of Roman Catholicism. That is the only difference between us. We speak the same language, we are intermixed, we have the same national consciousness, and for centuries we have struggled to unite in one state and to have our freedom. But that was denied to us, so we had the European crisis, and had to undergo many historical storms.

The Crusaders passed over our country. Then came the Turks; it was a curse. At that time my country, Serbia, was free, prosperous, and one of the most civilized countries in Europe. We struggled for 150 years against the Turk invader; but we were alone, no one came to our help, and all that we represented there was annihilated. The life of my nation was forced to bear a most dreadful yoke for some five centuries. But we kept faith and we kept hope that we should emerge again to the bright day of freedom. We have every one of the great Christian nations that fought against us. We allied ourselves with the Venetians, with the Austrians, with the Magyars, with the Croatians, in order to exterminate the Turks out of Europe, but very often it happened that when the Turks were expelled from our lands our allies, being stronger and better organized than we were, wanted to stay there and be our new masters. So, for three centuries we have had only the changing of masters; and at last, on the eve of this great war, the position of my people was this, that only Serbia and Montenegro, two little countries inhabited by one people, were free. The whole population of those two countries was represented by some five millions, and seven millions of my people lived in slavery in Austria-Hungary, which country was nothing else, as you know very well, but a branch office of Berlin. (Hear, hear and applause.) Bismarck, whom the Germans thought a great man, spoke a truth about us in Hungary—"Austro-Hungary is a cow to be grazed on the Balkan Hills, and when she has grazed enough she is to be killed, to the profit of Germany." (Hear, hear.) Austro-Hungary has been killed. (Hear, hear and applause.) It remains now to see that she was not killed to the profit of Germany and when Germany had her ambitious dream of world-empire you understand now why she wanted to pass over Serbia and to conquer that bridge (because Serbia was the key-stone to her grandiose dream) to connect her over the Balkans with her vassals, Bulgaria and Italy, and in that way to reach on to the Persian Gulf and the Suez Canal. You know what was the situation, and how far Serbia yielded in order to spare herself, and you all know the awful crisis through which, happily, we have passed. (Applause.) Serbia was doomed; she was to be crushed to make way for the Germans; but little as she was, Serbia rose as one man and said, "I am not willing; I am a nation, and I shall fight." (Applause.)

I cannot pause at this moment to tell you my personal experience. It was not an easy thing with our small resources to accept a battle against an empire of fifty millions, and we had been exhausted by two years' war against Turkey and Bulgaria previously. I remember very well that when I joined my regiment on the frontier of Bosnia, all soldiers, all my friends there, asked me what was the news from Great Britain. We knew that Russia would go in; we knew that France would follow; but your position was not clear to us;

and it happened that I had the news and was the first to bring the happy tidings that Great Britain was on our side. (Applause.) That was a great morning, and since that time I really may say that you have taken part in all our battles. We knew that the task would be very hard, but we knew not only the great resources of your empire, but something better behind it—the spirit which has built that empire, the spirit that animates you—and we knew that victory would be ours. (Applause.) That faith we never abandoned.

I will not dwell upon the opening events of the war in Serbia. You know through what a hell we have passed, but we always had that hope before us. I can only tell you that Serbia has lost in this war more than twenty-five per cent. of her whole population, that our material resources have been reduced to the state of the original inhabitants of this country, and for three long years we have had the most brutal of conquerors in our country. There was no family life, because all men were abroad. Think, that for those four years not one child was born in Serbia. Think how many tens of thousands of people have perished in that country without proper food and without medical help; and for four long years no Serbian father ever took his child upon his knees. You cannot understand what are the conditions of Serbia, but happily we are through, and we have proved that we are a sturdy race. (Hear, hear and loud applause.) We still look forward and hope that our happiness is in the future. We think all this was necessary because a new order of things is to be created through the war, and the last tidings coming from there is full of joy instead of great material sorrow. Perhaps it is impossible for you to realize what it means, that after thirteen centuries of incessant struggles and failures and deceptions we are at last free and united. (Loud applause.) It is a wonderful time, and we all think it is worth while to fight and to die for the great and beautiful dream. (Applause.)

But just at this moment our joy is somewhat spoiled by the claims made by our allies, and we think our friends, the Italians. On the entry of Italy into this great war she was able by treaty to secure some concessions on the eastern shore of the Adriatic in the territories inhabited by my people. We cannot blame Italy very much for having made that treaty, because at that time it was quite a different world from the world we all hope to live in to-morrow; and it was a treaty made under quite different conditions. It was said that Austria-Hungary would continue to exist; it was thought that Russia, by occupying Constantinople and the Dardanelles, would become a Mediterranean power; but the great group of struggling nationalities in Austro-Hungary that would form, new states was not foreseen. Italy wanted to be sure, and she put in some claims that very much affected our interests, and to-day we southern Slavs are opposing those claims of Italy for the reason that, if granted, they will hamper our unity, will strangle our economic development, and will set at naught many of those finest principles that have been proclaimed and generally accepted by the world as the basis of the new order of things. Italy, in pushing her claims before the Peace Conference—and what is more important, before the conscience of the world—gives different arguments, and I am sure that anyone who will impartially investigate her arguments and weigh them in the light of the new hopes of humanity will find that they cannot stand.

First of all, Italy proclaims that the Adriatic is an Italian sea, and that Italy ought to control all its coasts. You that are sons of sailors, and you that are a seafaring nation, will understand how the claim to appropriate a sea sounds like a sacrilege upon the rights of all other nations. The seas are given to us for free intercourse and exchange between the nations, of material and spiritual goods; so, if Italy is to appropriate the Adriatic, with far more reason, will not Germany come forward and claim to appropriate the Baltic, and say, "It is my sea, and I want to close it."

The other argument the Italians use is, we want to have a strong strategical frontier. Now, ladies and gentlemen, let us remember a great lesson of this war. Where are those strategical frontiers? They are nowhere. You remember very well how the Germans swept over many and many fortified frontiers and structures in Belgium and France and elsewhere, but when they came to the Ypres canal, they were met there by the stout hearts that had to defend the glory of the British Empire, and you stopped them; and so we know that the real strategic frontier is a just cause and a brave heart. (Hear, hear and applause.) Moreover, we may say that through all the thirteen centuries of the history of my nation there is no nation that can stand up and say, "The southern Slavs have invaded my land," or that we southern Slavs have devastated their homes, that we have taken into slavery their mothers, their sweethearts and their sisters. No, we have never made a war of invasion. (Hear, hear.) We have been in all countries of Europe, and always our work has been self-defence; always we have had to stem the tide of foreign invasion. So Italy has no reason to put between us a claim for a strong strategical frontier; her best defence will be the frontier of her navy, and her second, a good heart.

But Italians come and say, "In those territories we claim there is a large Italian population." There is a deal of truth in that assertion. There are Italians living in the Balkan country. The southern Slavs will be most happy to see all Italians, as far as possible (the very small minorities of those Italians that live there continually) incorporated into Italy. On this map you will see that the Italians live in the northern part of Goritzia and the western part of Austria, and that territory can be very easily and most justly incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy; but the further claims put forward have no justice in them. This map was copied from a map published in Rome by Professor Occidicia in 1914, an Italian authority. Since that time the Italian government has done all in its power to withdraw and prevent the publication of that map, because it does not justify her claims of to-day. Further, on the narrow coast line more to the south, there is a province, Dalmatea, inhabited by some 650,000 people, and in that province according to official Austro-Hungarian statistics there are living only 18,000 Italians, less than three per cent. I was reproached once by an Italian gentleman for having used the Austro-Hungarian statistics. I went to a library and found in the official Italian publication of Rome in 1914, just on the eve of the war, an official report by an Italian consul in Dalmatia, Signor Gallia, who gives the number of Italians living in Dalmatia as only 14,000, four thousand less than the numbers given by me, and that was published in the official report of the Italian foreign office. You see by these numbers that Italy cannot put in reasonable national claims to Dalmatia. Moreover, we see that, if Italy is to occupy that territory, she will absolutely prevent my country from developing economically in a free and natural way. Professor Salvini, an Italian author, says to the Italians: "You want to take Trieste in order to achieve commercial monopoly in the Adriatic, as Trieste is the port for all those countries on the bank of the Danube, for Czecho-Slovacs, for Hungary, and for the country around here," and Professor Salvini says, "You want to occupy Fiume just in order to kill it, that it may not compete with Trieste." That northern part of Dalmatia that they want to occupy here is desired just to prevent any really good connection of this northern part of my country with the southern parts on the Dalmatian coasts, and to see that all our future trade must pass through Italian territory and through the narrow channels of the Italian waterways.

For all these reasons you will realize that we, the southern Slavs, cannot reconcile ourselves to a solution that will see the execution of that plan; and we will do everything in our power to prevent it—and we are seconded in that by the best and most enlightened men in Italy herself. Many prominent politicians, publicists, and historians, have warned Italy not to push those claims too far, but by reasonable concessions to achieve co-operation in the Adriatic. We both have the same interest to be on our guard and to watch future developments in Germany, since our quarrels here will prove the best opportunity for the Germans again to assert their claims, to push us both aside, and to take possession down to the Adriatic.

We have proposed many things to the Italians in order to come to a friendly agreement, and at the last parliament many of the Italians themselves saw the dangers of their claims and invited a congress of nationalities at Rome at which to discuss the situation on the Adriatic. Since that time we have reached an agreement, but the Italian government has brushed aside that pact of Rome, and is standing, so far, firmly upon its territorial claims. We have proposed further that, if we are unable by direct negotiation to come to a friendly agreement with Italy, that we shall go to any court of arbitration that might be chosen between two friends, two neighbours, and we hope to realize this in the future. (Applause.) We have some good hopes that by direct negotiations of our representatives an agreement will be reached, or that some difficulties will arise so that both of us shall accept an arbitration of some power friendly to each of us. We shall struggle very much to settle these difficulties in a peaceful way, because we feel friendly to Italy. We do not fight the Italian nation and Italian democracy, but we must fight against what we feel and think to be the erroneous policy of the Italian government, for we feel that that policy will be harmful equally to us and to Italy. But we have good hopes that enlightened public opinion all over the world, which has given us good assistance, will aid in having this quarrel for the Adriatic settled in an amicable way. Some of the Italian statesmen are, however, very recalcitrant, and we don't know how the whole thing will end. We are there on the shores of the Adriatic for co-operation and for friendship, but it does not depend entirely upon our side. If something unpleasant happens, and Italy succeeds in achieving her materialistic claim for territory inhabited by my people, you will understand that we cannot reconcile ourselves to such a situation; for it would mean that we would only have changed masters again. We must in such case fight, even against our will, if Italy's statesmen have learned nothing during this great war, and have forgotten nothing. We shall do our duty and fight for our own unity and for our complete national freedom, and the responsibility we must leave to them. Our past is clear—to fight and claim nothing that does not belong to us— and we that have remained alive will stand in the place of those that have died in so many fights for freedom and unity, and will continue to fight until we see that ideal realized. We have to do our duty, and the rest we leave to God. (Loud applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: I am sure I am voicing your sentiments when I say to our distinguished guest that we are grateful to him for his earnest, carefully prepared, and most interesting presentation of his country's side of this struggle. We thank him very much. (Applause.)

BRITISH WOMEN'S WORK DURING THE WAR

AN ADDRESS BY CYRIL MAUDE

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, February 20, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: We are greatly indebted to Mr. Maude in a twofold sense to-day; first of all, for his kindness in coming to address our members; and then we are very grateful to him for his thoughtfulness in selecting a subject that enabled us to ask our ladies to join us. (Hear, hear and applause.) On behalf of the officers and executive of the Empire Club, ladies, I extend to you a cordial welcome, and desire to say that if we had not such a large membership and such inadequate accommodation we would have you with us on many occasions. Apart from that, I do not want to suggest that we are all "Grumpies" in the Empire Club; but frankly, there is a more happy expression on the faces of our members to-day than is usually to be found there at our meetings. (Laughter.) I am reminded that at one time the toast to the ladies occupied a position at the end of the program, and was usually entrusted to a more or less irresponsible male person who made a few flippant remarks and ended up with a silly phrase or a quotation. (Laughter.) But to-day that is all changed, and it would be a courageous man who would approach the toast of the ladies with any idea but that they are on the pedestal and will remain there as long as the British Empire exists. (Applause.) Now,

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Mr. Maude was born and educated in London, England. His dramatic triumphs of the past few years on two continents have marked him unquestionably as the leading English comedy actor of his time. During the war he devoted a large portion of his time and talents to patriotic work.

Mr. Maude is well known to Torontonians, and I need only remind you of his delightful "Grumpy," of his splendid piece of acting at the Princess this week, and also of the magnificent $4,000 contribution he made toward our Patriotic Fund in 1915. (Applause.) Of all the great actors who have visited Toronto I do not think there is one who occupies a warmer place in our affections than the great actor who is with us here today. (Applause.) Now, I was warned before I left home not to make a speech (Laughter.) so without further comment I will ask Mr. Cyril Maude to address you.

Mr. Cyril Maude was received with loud applause, the audience rising and giving three cheers and a tiger. He said: Mr. President, I thank you for the very kind words, and, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for the very kind way in which you have received them. To tell you the truth, I am an amateur at making speeches, though I have had to do nothing else through the south and west, and more lately in New York and Washington and Philadelphia, and only the other day I had an audience of ladies called the Daughters of the Revolution who greeted me by singing two verses of God Save the King. (Laughter.) I must confess that when I have to make a speech at a luncheon or dinner I am reminded of a cartoon in London, of men sitting smoking and drinking and looking exceedingly happy, and one miserable little man toying with his bread crumbs, and under the picture were the words, "Find the man who has got to make a speech." (Laughter and applause.) This occasion is doubly interesting to me because I was brought up to hard work, acting and managing a theatre in London, and before that I was brought up to hard work on a farm at Oakville (Laughter.) and that is interesting to me, when I think that I commenced my career by carrying milk to the station in the early morning, in what I might perhaps call the twilight of my life, and now, getting towards the close of my career, I am allowed to meet the *creme de la creme* of Toronto. (Great Laughter.) I have bright recollections of this country, owing to my cousin, who has attained prominence lately as the man who took Bagdad, having lived here for many years (Applause.) and I think of him with feelings of sadness not unmixed with humor when I remember that just before he died he cabled to me from Bagdad asking me to come back that way if I could. How I wish he could have come back this way through Canada from Bagdad to England, but such was not to be the case.

Now I know you will want me to get on to my subject, which I had been carefully avoiding for a little while. (Laughter.) When I realized what British women had done in the war, as I did the last time I went home, it made me only too anxious to go and spread the gospel as far as I possibly could; and when I reached Toronto I was made to feel very proud of the Empire by finding the kind of things that Canadian girls were doing for the war. For instance, at a luncheon party I met the young daughter of a famous lawyer here, who had been working at shorthand and typewriting, and she was going off to one of the militia officers to get a job, without mentioning the matter to her father. That seemed to me typical of the true Canadian spirit. At the same party I met another young girl who had been working for the last four years as a V.A.D., but she would not tell anything about herself, though she told of her comrades holding a corrugated iron over a poor wounded soldier, hoping to rescue him from death, with shrapnel scattering all around them. That seemed to me a rather fine thing. (Applause.) Then only last night I went to a wonderful ball at Government House, and three of the young ladies I had the honor of dancing with told me they were working at a wonderful school where they were learning massage and various ways in which to cure wounded soldiers of muscular troubles in their limbs; it seemed very wonderful to me.

You know, a contemporary of Oliver Cromwell was once asked to describe him, and the only description was that he was an ugly man with a wart on his nose. It seems to me that we Canadians and Australians and the British Empire are rather too much inclined to mention the wart on the nose, without the finer attributes, consequently we have allowed the Germans so very much power in getting ahead of us in the United States. The more we tell really of what the British Empire has done, the more useful, it seems to me, it would be just now, in the United States, which is full of German propaganda. (Applause.) Only ten weeks ago, in New York, millions of pamphlets were being distributed warning America against the terrible English danger, and at Ottawa one night the wife of a distinguished Englishman who had just visited New York showed me a pamphlet, one of a number of thousands, that had been scattered among the British soldiers just before they entered the war, warning them against the great American danger. So that is the way they are getting at it.

Now, woman, as you know, has proved the most wonderful nationalist, and it is the hope of everyone that both in America and England she is going to prove the most wonderful factor for everlasting peace. Speaking of the work that women have done in England, and the way in which the highest society ladies have taken their place in the ranks I may tell you a story which possibly you have not heard. A woman was scrubbing a floor, and a fiery old colonel wanted to get past her, but the bucket was in the way. He could have gone around it, but he did not want to, and he said, "Here, move that bucket." She did not take any notice of that, thinking his manner was too rude, and he said, "Move that bucket, damn it, don't you know I am a Colonel?" She said, "Damn it, do you know I am a duchess?" (Laughter.) Telling one funny story leads to another. Only the other day I heard of a lady who went to see Niagara, and she said, "Extraordinary! that reminds me that I left the kitchen tap on." (Laughter.) I heard of a mother of seven sons who had enlisted, and she became anxious because she thought her status as a mother was getting rather small, as she was not doing anything for the war, so she started doing something in the munitions, and she used to write each week to the sons, and one of them wrote saying he thought mother was killing more Germans than any one of the family. A friend of mine down in South Carolina was telling me that there was an old negro there—this was before the United States came into the war—and if he only said something in praise of the Germans the old negro would get excited and speak up. So my friend said to the negro one day, "Joe, have you heard of this wonderful gun the Germans are going to have in a year from now? It is going to be able to throw a shell about 75 miles." The negro replied, "Huh, that's nothin' to what the Americans are going to have; they have got large guns, and you simply shoot and shoot, and all you need is the address." (Great laughter.)

In one factory in England where there had been a terrible explosion I found several women killed, and within four days a lot of the remaining female operators had volunteered for the work. They would stand unflinchingly while such painful operations were performed as removing particles of metal from the eye; but I never heard of what they would do in case a mouse was let loose. (Laughter.) They worked through Sundays, and never was the Sabbath broken more splendidly. Lloyd George said just before the war ended, "I don't know what would have happened if it had not been for the women coming forward," and just before the end came he said, "I consider the women have saved the Allies' cause." (Applause.)

Before the war the optical glass industry was largely in the hands of Germans and Austrians, and the war meant a total closing of that market. A tank would be utterly blind without a periscope, so would a submarine, and range-finders and miroscopes were needed not only for war but for medical purposes, to fight diseases. Great Britain has restored that languishing trade, though the task was enormous. Even a special kind of ordinary glass used to be brought from Germany and Fontainbleau, but the new conditions made us look around, and we soon discovered that good old England had got the right kind of men for that work. (Applause.)

You have heard of the soldier of the allies having captured a German soldier, who, with biting sarcasm, accused the British soldier of fighting only for money, but the Britisher turned and asked the German, "What are you fighting for?" The German replied, "I fight for honor." Tommy replied, "You are like me—fighting for what you have got precious little of." (Great laughter.)

I had a very interesting conversation with Mrs. Pankhurst; she heard that I was going around speaking about her sex—as it is only right that anyone called by the name of Maude should do (Laughter) and I complained that there were so many smart women just walking about and looking nice up and down Fifth Avenue, and she said, "Oh, don't you believe that; I have been a quiet hard-working woman in my time, and I have myself defended the ladies from the mounted police"—and then I thought of what splendid work the suffragettes had done during the war, and I think Mrs. Pankhurst is a splendid woman—and she said, "Don't you believe about all those smart women; nobody has worked harder than I have, and I love dressing up for a couple of hours for an afternoon and being on Broadway, and many of those smartest women you see in New York and the great cities are doing the best work." Then she told me how the women were being used to stop the strikes in England. When a meeting of the men is held, and they decide by a vast majority to have a strike, the next day a vast meeting of women is called, and by a bigger majority than the men have, they vote against it, and the strike is called off. (Loud applause.)

LADY HEARST expressed the hearty thanks of the club to Mr. Maude for his fine address.

FRANCE AND HER ALLIES

ADDRESSES BY GENERAL PAUL PAU, CHAIRMAN OF FRENCH MISSION TO AUSTRALIA (Address translated) AND MONS. ANDRE SIEGFRIED, (in English.)

At a Joint Meeting with Canadian Club, Toronto, February 25, 1919.

MAJOR WRIGHT (President Canadian Club, Chairman): We are honored to-day by having with us His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada. (Loud applause.) We are pleased that he was able to so arrange his engagements as to be here and help us to welcome the French Mission. Since the war we have grown to know our Allies, and we know now and understand nations which before the war were only looked at from the distance. In the new knowledge no nation has occupied such a place in the hearts of the people as has France. (Hear, hear and loud applause.) In August 1916 the Canadian Corps moved from Belgium to the Somme. It was very hot. The fields were ripe with grain. We did not take a direct route; we went by a roundabout course which took us through a part of France which had been devastated, and where the people were carrying on their peaceful pursuits. In order to avoid the excessive heat of mid-day, we marched early in the morning and resumed in the afternoon; but we never marched so early in the morning, it was never so hot at noon-day, we were never out so late at night but what in those golden harvest fields

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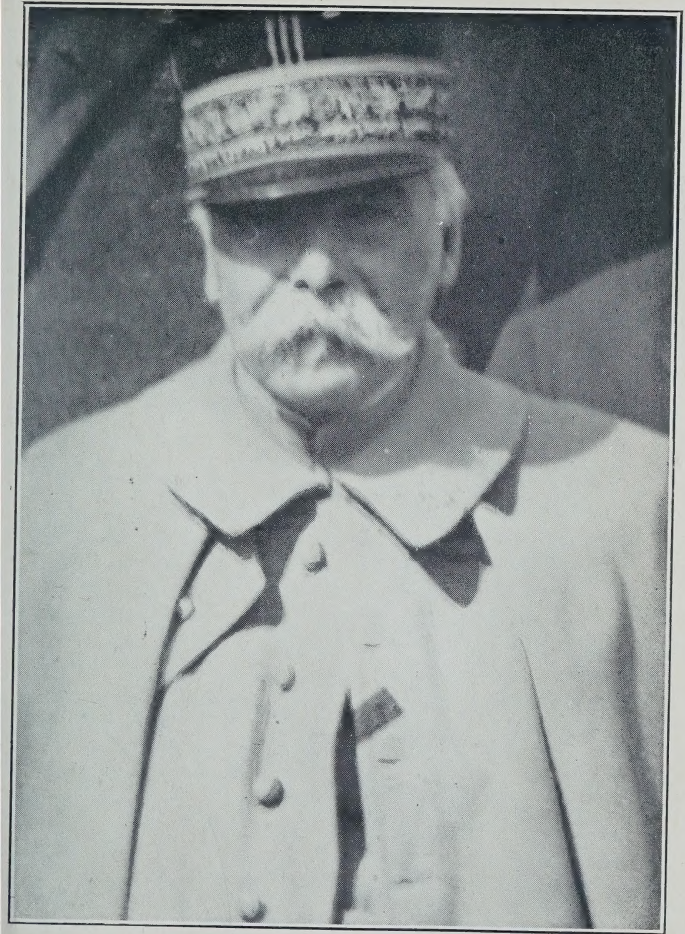
General Paul Pau was one of the outstanding figures in the saving of Paris during 1914. He was Chairman of a Mission appointed by the French Government to Australia for the cultivation of friendly relations and the development of trade connection between France and Australia. He is undoubtedly one of the most picturesque figures produced by France during the past fifty years.

of France the women and children and friends were bringing in the harvest. (Applause.) During those days we got the thrill of pride in fighting by the side of such a nation, and we realized as we had never realized before the extent of the sacrifice and contribution which France had made for our common cause. Such of those men as do not lie for ever buried in France are now returning to Canada, and they are telling her the real story of France's effort in the war. So it is with a deep and permanent affection that we, to-day, welcome to Toronto General Pau and his companions, and pay through them our tribute to the heroic nation they represent.

GENERAL PAU, on rising, was received with loud applause, the audience cheering and waving handkerchiefs. Speaking in French—his words being interpreted afterwards in sections—he said: Mr. President and Gentlemen, I must be excused if I do not speak in English. Your Excellency and gentlemen, I do not think that it is necessary that I should apologize for not knowing your language. I am very sorry I do not, but you are so kind in coming here to-day that I do not think my apologies are necessary. It is certainly very kind of you to come and listen to me; that is why I do not hesitate to say a few words, that one of my comrades will translate. Afterwards Mr. Siegfried will speak eloquently of the French effort during this war. (Applause.) But I will not leave to my friend, Mr. Siegfried, the care to answer to the eloquent words of your chairman. I want to thank him and you all for the feelings of admiration and love he has expressed in such a touching way. He is not the only one who knew France but imperfectly before this war; because France, with all her qualities and shortcomings did not appear to the world as she really is. The Frenchman has a sort of shame which makes him hide his innermost feelings. It is very difficult to penetrate into a French home, and that is why the Frenchman is very often judged wanting in feeling. But wait for the days of trial, and in those days see, listen, and judge, and you will know France.

(Loud applause.) The France you have seen on these historical days is the same France which has always existed. Every time that France seemed to be on the verge of the precipice, that country, which some people called a decayed country, showed herself united; she showed that union in the minds and in the hearts which is the first condition of strength. (Applause.) Many times she has resisted a terrible onrush. To-day, as well as in the past few weeks, as I was travelling through His Majesty's Dominions, I find the same surprise at the way France has fulfilled her duty towards her past and towards the future of humanity. But now people know; they have seen that heap of lies, which our enemies had spread about us, crumble down. (Hear, hear and applause.) But be careful. In a few years, when life is normal again, France may appear again to be light, but it will always be the same France, the storehouse of tradition. Every country has in her disposition some elements of strength as well as of weakness. Perhaps our elements of weakness are more conspicuous. You Britishers know what traditions are. We French people perhaps do not show it so much; we keep our feelings more compressed in our hearts; but when the day of trial comes we can rise to any height. (Loud applause.)

But I apologize to have kept you waiting so long for Dr. Siegfried's speech. I cannot sit down before I let you know what is the object of our mission. We have here no economic mission; we simply bring you the expression of the gratitude of France. (Applause.) I want to tell you that the names of Britisher and of Canadian are now synonymous in France, not only of gallant men and of good men but of sincere friends. (Cheers.) We want our friendship to be eternal. Our two nations may have had differences in the past, but we always fought fairly (Hear, hear and loud applause.) and only our friendship can ensure for the world a future of peace and happiness for which the world has sighed now for more than four years. It is a necessary condition that France and the Empire should remain united (Hear, hear and loud applause.)



GENERAL PAUL PAU

and it is that friendship that shall be the guarantee of our union. It was only from the day that unity of command was realized that we saw the dawn of victory. (Hear, hear and applause.) It is as necessary that we should remain united in peace as we have been in war. (Hear, hear and applause.) There will still be economic struggles. Economic struggles have in the past very often led to war, but if we remain united as friends we are safe; the blood of our soldiers shall not have been shed in vain.

I now conclude in thanking you for this greeting. We shall carry away with us a precious memory of this day, and we will tell our friends and the people of France that here we have met not only true friends, but real brothers. (Hear, hear and applause, the audience rising, cheering and waving handkerchiefs.)

MAJOR WRIGHT, (Chairman): We are now going to have the privilege of hearing from Dr. Siegfried, the Secretary of the Mission. His accomplishments are well known to us all, but there is just one matter I would like to mention which makes him almost a comrade with us here to-day—indeed it does. During the early days of the war Dr. Siegfried was attached to the First Canadian Division by the French Government, and it is not only as representing the great Republic of France, but as a former comrade of our corps that we look forward to hearing from him to-day.

DR. SIEGFRIED: Your Excellency, Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen, the General asked me to assume the hard task of speaking after him. I will do my best to tell you what I have in my heart to tell you about France. The General, very often during the trip we have had together for the last months, said to me, "This war was not only a war of governments, not only a war of armies, but mostly a war of nations." And it is because the French nation as a whole put all its heart into the war that the French could bring this fight to be a victory. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Gentlemen, we did not expect the war to be what it was. We expected it would be a short war, finished suddenly after a great clash for a few weeks, perhaps a few months. And again, we did not expect the attack to be through Belgium. We expected it by the east, because we French did not believe that Germans would break their word and assault a neutral country; but this happened. The war was very long. We were attacked not by the east but by the north, and under that sudden assault we were obliged to retire to very near Paris, and after the keen blow of the Mons, in September 1914, we realized suddenly that the war was not finished, and that we should have to fight many more months and perhaps many more years to defend the country and to throw the enemy out of the sacred soil of France. Then we started really for a second war, not the brilliant war we had thought of and dreamed of, but the long and weary war of every day, and every hour. Then France found herself all ready for that new war, and the whole nation seconded her. (Applause.) Gentlemen, in October 1914, the situation was terrible for the French. Of course we had behind us the victory of the Marne; we knew we were strong in a military way; but we found that to fight the new kind of war we had practically nothing. All our industries were pratically stopped; we had no munitions; the best part of France for manufacturing, I mean the northern part, was invaded. Lille, Armentieres, Tournai, Valenciennes were in the hands of the Germans, and we had to start industries of the war in the same conditions as Great Britain would have had to do if she had been deprived of Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester. At the same time all our men were mobilized at the front; all the men between 18 years of age and 47 were in the army; nobody was left in the factories. (Applause.) But that is not all. I do not speak only of the factories; the fields were empty, and the country had to feed itself. The country had to continue the cultivation of the French soil, in order simply to be able to live; and to be able to live in order to fight was the problem. If we solved that problem, it was because the government found behind it not only the will of the army but the will of the whole nation, and suddenly it was the unanimous spirit of the whole nation to fight for victory. I think you felt it, and, when I see and feel around me the sympathy and love of your people, I dare to say the people of Canada felt it (Hear, hear and loud applause.) because you realized that that great country of France from the first day of the war put its whole heart into the struggle. We left nothing aside; we did not reserve anything; we were ready; and it is no flower of rhetoric to say, because you have seen it for years, that we were ready to give everything; we were ready to give the life of our men, and each of them was willing to make the sacrifice of his life; we were ready to give our civilians, to give all their work for the nation; we were ready to give all our factories; we were ready to give all our money; we were ready to give the whole nation; and I think you gentlemen, who are great citizens of a great empire and at the same time are great sports, I understand, (Laughter.) you realize that in this great fight France was sincere, and that having France as an ally, you had a sincere and fair ally. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The government asked everybody, as Nelson said a hundred years ago, to do his duty, and I dare say everybody did his duty. I do not speak of the men at the front, because so many of them have shown that, and we have known them; so many of your soldiers have seen the French poilu and have fought with him; and from what I have heard him say of you I think you might say of him—brave fighters, ready to give everything for the country. (Applause.) Nowadays an army which is not backed by a country is nothing, and the time is past when an expeditionary force or an army can go and fight while the nation behind it continues its ordinary life of peace. That is not the modern formula of war; the war is the one thing, and the army can only fight well at the front if the people behind are supporting it. (Hear, hear.)

The French government asked the whole nation of France to support the army. It was done in several ways. We first had to ask the country people to continue to cultivate the soil. It seemed a small thing, but it was an enormous job, since every man was away. Mr. Chairman, you have spoken of those French women working the country of France while the men were away. They were seconded by old men and by children; but it was not only behind the front that the land was cultivated. During a great part of the war the country was invaded so that it was necessary to secure every square yard of that soil and the peasants were asked by the government to cultivate it, and they did not need to be asked to cultivate every inch of the French soil, even under shell-fire. (Applause.) Those who have been at the front have seen that magnificent sight which I could never see without emotion— the French peasant, generally an old man not subject to military duty, plowing his land sometimes within 3,000 yards of the enemy, sometimes within 1,500, and sometimes within 1,200 or 1,000 yards from the trenches; plowing with his horses, perhaps with his oxen, and sometimes the shells were all around continually. Sometimes also you saw the French field pierced with shell-holes, ten or twelve of them. You pass again a week after, and the shell-holes do not exist any more; the French peasant had been there; and I never saw anything more comforting for my heart and for the French citizens than this spectacle. (Applause.) Do you know why the peasant did it? He did it from a sense of duty. Perhaps he did it from a sense of interest, I don't know; I think he did it mostly from love for the land. (Applause.) There is in the mind of the French peasant something which I think has struck your soldiers. It is the very peculiar kind of love he has for his country. For you the country, the Empire, does many fine things—I don't know exactly what—but I know it is something fine. For us, and especially for the French citizen at the war, for the French countryman, of course France is France; but it is more than that; it is the soil of France, it is the land of France. The Frenchman could not sell his land and buy another; it is his land, he will never sell it, he will keep it, he belongs to it; and when the country is invaded and the land of the country is taken by the invader, the French citizen, the French countryman, the French peasant suffers not only in his land but in his heart. That is why the government of France asked him to do his duty and to put the plow in the land. He did it, not knowing or not believing he was a hero—which he was. (Applause.) This could be done only because the women were there. (Hear, hear.) You know, gentlemen, as well as I do—and the General has said it—that this war was also, and perhaps mainly, won by women. You have seen in the cities behind the front all the shops, practically all the business, conducted by French women. I think some of you have told us in France that French women were very good business women. In a war like this, that is great praise. (Laughter.) You have seen them also in the fields. Really the life of the country would have been impossible if the women had not done their duty. It was not merely the work in the factories. Nowadays, a war is an immense manufacturing enterprise, so we had to create manufactures which had not existed or which had been taken by the Germans. We started factories for war material, and everywhere in my country of France, sprang up new industries. We were obliged to use the ones we had near the front, and what I said about peasants working their land under shell-fire can be told of the French manufacturer working his plant under shell-fire. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen of the Canadian army, you have been at Armentieres, or if not you have seen that little cotton-spinning city in the north of France at work within 2,000 yards of the enemy. You remember the suburb of Armentieres, 1,800 yards from the trenches and surrounded on three sides; it had six or seven cotton-spinning mills at work in 1915 and 1916, really under the frightful menace of the enemy. The labor was done by girls of 17, 18 and 19. They were shelled, and at the time of the shelling the workers went to the cellars, and sometimes they were wounded, but I was told by the inspectors of labor that the next day not a girl was missing. (Loud applause.) Another thing I should not like to miss, because you Canadians may have seen it, that is, the working of the mines in France during the war. You know our mine supplies had been badly handled; about two-thirds of our mines had been taken by the invader. One-third was remaining, and the government insisted that those mines should be worked, and two of them were within four thousand yards of the trenches. Well, they were worked under shell-fire, and everybody was at his duty; the men were obliged to go at night so as not to be seen by the enemy, and they had to come out of the mines before daylight, not to be seen by the enemy. One of the greatest plants of the mines, which was run by electricity, was 3,000 yards from the trenches; it was worked all the time up to March 1918. The machinery was covered by sand-bags to escape the shells. The place was shelled perhaps forty or fifty times. By an extraordinary chance the machinery was never touched, and those mines for three years could work and produce good coal, which also was a weapon of the war. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Now, gentlemen, if all this was possible, it was because of the help of everybody; and in speaking of everybody I do not mean only the Frenchmen, the French women, the old men, the soldiers, the manufacturers; I mean also the Allies. I remember an old dictum of your country in which it is said, "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do, we have the ships, we have the men, we have the money too." (Laughter and applause.) Gentlemen, you had all that, and because you had all that, we had it all the same, because we shared with you. (Applause.) I do not speak of your men; it is no use; we have seen millions of them on the battlefields of France, and they will never be forgotten. As to the ships, it is by the ships you feed the country; the ships of Great Britain gave us the food in these last four years. (Applause.) It is all right to fight, but you cannot fight if you are not fed. And the money, I hardly have to speak of it, but I know that all the time of the war when financial help was necessary, we found it among our good friends. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I speak of the French and of the British Empire, but I have not especially to mention the Canadians, because you are part of the British Empire, and it is with pride we say that we have British friends; for we know that in the word British the word Canadian is included. (Hear, hear and applause.)

And now, gentlemen, let me finish. France has shown what is unanimity of will. It is, in the tradition of France, as the General said in magnificent language, to be equal to great opportunities. The opportunity was great, and the French have shown themselves at the level of the opportunity. (Hear, hear and applause.) We had all things together for the same fight; we have shown qualities of organization which people did not expect from us; for we were always spoken of as being charming people, of course (Laughter.) but light. Gentlemen, as our General has said, we remain all that, but we claim that we are able to organize, and I think that during those four years we have been organizing victory. (Hear, hear.) That is not all. It was often said in the last fifty years that France was decaying. I was born within the last half-century, a few years, a few years after the defeat of 1870, when France was under the cloud. We knew that the old current French tradition was still running, but it was not always seen. We knew that the qualities of the French remained the same; we knew that the will of the French to be a great nation was always there; but it was not always known either by our enemies or even by our friends; but during this last forty or fifty years there have been years of retrenchment, years of great work, in which, as General Pau said this morning to the young men, two generations have prepared for the great Day we are seeking now. We knew what France was, though people did not know it; we expected the time would come when we would be allowed to show it; and now, after forty years of ordeal, and after four years of the horrors of war, the Day has come, and the light is shining in France after so many days of darkness. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I think you realize how dear this victory has been to us. We had been expecting it, we had been hoping for it; we thought sometimes it would be very, very long to come, and when it came, it was a great day for France. I thank you, gentlemen, to have been with you in those days, and I think that when we are speaking of this victory we should not say it is the victory of France, we should always remember it is the victory of all.

Now I say this: for the future relations of our two countries I have no doubt they will be friendly, they will be lastingly friendly, but I rely mostly on this for the future of our relations—that hundreds of thousands of your Canadian boys have fought on the French soil, have fought there as Frenchmen and with the French. The General said it was difficult to penetrate into the French family. Your brothers, who have been in the Canadian army, have done it; because as you know when you are billeted as a soldier in a French home you belong to the family, you are one of them; they do not look upon you any more as a stranger speaking a strange language; they do not say any more that they did not know you yesterday, and they don't know who you are; they say, "Those fellows, they are fighting for us." There might be an old woman whom you have met who has told you, "You are 22, or you are 25; my son of the same age is fighting at some part of the front; well, take his place; you are at home." (Loud applause.)

All of you have been able to realize the meaning of the formula of the French law of billet, in which it is said that a soldier billeted is entitled to the fire and to the candle; he is entitled to share the fire to heat himself, and he is entitled to share the light to read his paper or write to his family; and after that what do you want more of the family? You are in the centre of it, and you have not much more to learn of the French since you have been for some time one of them. Now, gentlemen, I think that a country like yours that has seen so much of the French families, that has penetrated the sacred secrecy of the French family at the time of the most terrible ordeal that that country could undergo, will not have forgotten such an experience though many years may pass. (Applause.) And if a friendship has been created in such conditions, I very sincerely think that such a friendship must and will be everlasting. (Hear, hear and loud applause.)

MAJOR GRANT, Principal of Upper Canada College, speaking in French, expressed the thanks of the united Clubs to General Pau and his confreres.

THE ITALIAN PROBLEM IN THE ADRIATIC

AN ADDRESS BY MAJ.-GENERAL EMILIO GUGLIELMOTTI

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, March 6, 1919.

MR. ARTHUR HEWITT, Vice-President, presided in the absence of the President through illness, and in introducing the speaker said: We have had presented to us one side of a disputed question. We are glad to welcome so many citizens, who I am sure will give our distinguished speaker a good hearing when he presents the case on behalf of the problem he proposes to discuss.

MAJ.-GEN. GUGLIELMOTTI: Gentlemen, I never before have spoken in public in any language but my own, the Italian, but from the very moment I arrived in America I was asked to speak in public in English. I will do my best, but I am doubtful of my success; but after all I think you can understand very much better my poor English than my most splendid Italian. (Laughter.) I begin by thanking you, Mr. Chairman, and the members of the Empire Club for their kind invitation. I regret the absence of your President, and I hope you will give him my thanks, and my best wishes for his recovery.

I have been invited to speak here about a thing that of course is very much on my heart—Italy's war and Italy's claims.

As to Italy's war, Italy is very modest and knows so little about advertising that the great part, and sometimes the necessary part, played by her in the war is not very

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Major General Guglielmotti, is a veteran of the war, having been present at the capture of Gorizia as well as serving with distinction in other engagements at the front. He has for some time been attached to the Italian Embassy at Washington.

well known, and for that reason perhaps not very much appreciated. In the beginning of the war she was bound to the Central Empires by a treaty of alliance, but I must say that that treaty, a national treaty imposed on her by special conditions of boundary, was only of a defensive character, and when the Central Empires—Germany and Austria—started a war of aggression, of conquest, Italy saw at once that the treaty was null and void and refused to join the Central Empires in that war. (Loud applause.) Italy could not defy France, her sister; Italy could not defy England, to which she had been bound for centuries. (Applause.) Italy was not bound to remain neutral; but before England declared war on the 1st of August, 1914, she declared to France that Italy was never going to take arms against her. You must rely on the importance of Italy, the courage of Italy, in not joining the Central Empires, but especially to improve her position for the great common cause and for France. (Hear, hear.) I do not wish to insist on my word for this; it is too important a thing, and I have here a pamphlet and can read something in it about this matter. This was written on his own account by a very well-known American professor, Mr. Whitney Ware, who is a member of the Institute of France. In this pamphlet entitled "Just Claims of Italy," and published two years ago, not now, he writes these few words:

> "I will pause here a moment to address myself to my friends in France. For several months I have been publishing much on the merits of Italy in this war, on the magnificence of her effort, on the loyalty of her attitude. It must not be concluded from this that, after being one of the most fervent admirers of France, I have suddenly transferred my affections. I do not know of any country that could replace France in one's heart. My faithfulness to France, on the contrary, compels me to laud the the qualities of a people who, in 1914, saved France from the greatest of dangers, perhaps even from death itself. It is not sufficiently recognized that without the neutrality of Italy the battle of the Marne would have been lost. Let us not forget the inestimable value of the service Italy then rendered in liberating, for service elsewhere, the French troops employed in guarding the Gallic side of the Alps. Moreover, Italy's attitude prevented, at this moment, the Austrians from withdrawing their garrisons from their southern

frontier. Again, later, Italy created a new battle front, from Switzerland to the Adriatic. For these reasons France owes a debt of lasting gratitude to Italy."

As a matter of fact I can tell you that our ambassador presented himself in Paris on the very night from the 31st of July to the 1st of August, and on the same night orders were given to send to the Marne about half a million men to help the French artillery who were on the Alps. (Applause.) Again, a great service was rendered by Italy at the very moment she entered the war. You must remember that in May, 1915, the fire of Central Empires seemed to be very near. England was not ready, and Austrian and German armies were pushing back the Russians and the Allies. They relied on crushing Russia, and soon after to come back to France and crush her. In this vital moment Italy declared war, (Applause.) and now they say that Italy declared war for business reasons. At that moment it was a very poor business indeed. (Hear, hear and applause.) For two and a half years following, years of victory, Italy alone scored over the central armies, fighting very often in the highest mountains, in the intense snows, and pulling at a very great height guns, ammunition, everything, because in the beginning we had no roadways, and we lived in snows, always fighting bravely, and always giving an example of endurance, of valor, and of military discipline.

After two and a half years of victories, the misfortune of Capovetta came. No, I don't speak about defeat; it was not a defeat. (Hear, hear and applause.) Everybody has spoken about the German propaganda that was the cause of that misfortune. Well, as you know, the general propaganda has been working everywhere, and German propaganda was so treacherous, so dangerous, that everywhere they have found weak minds, weak hearts that yielded to it; and so, perhaps, there were in the Italian army some soldiers that yielded to the German propaganda. But the real reason is not that. Now, after our common victory, we can speak frankly. We were obliged to go back because we Italians were alone, fighting against an army superior in guns and ammunition. We were along a front longer than French, English, and Belgian fronts together. The French front from Switzerland to the North Sea was 450 miles; our front was 485 miles. We were alone on a very dangerous frontier. We were alone without ammunition and very sparse artillery—without ammunition because after two big victories we had exhausted our ammunition, and we had no coal or raw material to replace what we had used. Moreover, we were very often fighting on two fronts.

Italy felt the great danger from the fact that her southern frontier was quite undefended, and she saw that a crushing victory by Austria, meant a defeat for her. The southern frontier of Italy was quite open to the Austrians, and the Austrian commander collected all the forces he could, owing to the condition of Russia, and allowed them to go to the Italian frontier and launch the big offensive of the Germans, Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians together. We withdrew, because the shape of the frontier imposed on us by Austria in 1866 is such that, if pierced in a single point, it is possible to take by attack all the rest of the frontier. In this position we were quite obliged to go back in order to save the situation.

We fell back, and we went on a larger front. You speak about demoralization by German propaganda. Well, it is at least wonderful that the morale of the troops was so good that they could fight and die to the last man, as we did. Our regiment of cavalry was left behind in order to protect our retreat. It is really wonderful that the morale of the troops was such that they could remain on a very weak line, and fighting alone, without trenches, without ammunition, could stop the enemy's command. As a matter of fact, our gallant Allies, England and France, as soon as they realized the danger, sent troops to Italy to help, but these did not arrive upon the weak line of the Piave. They stopped behind at the Piave River, a very strong line at the back, and told the Italians to hold on for a week or so to give them time to fortify this line, and then the Italians could fall back to that line. The Italians did that. (Applause.) After that we came to the sunny side of things, and had the great and splendid victory of last June on the Piave. (Applause.) This was the second time we stopped the commands at the Piave.

It is necessary for you to realize what a successful offensive against Italy would mean. They wanted to crush Italy as soon as possible, to put the Italian army of about four million men out of the question. This would not only release for German use the entire Austrian army of five million men, but it would open another door, another road, opposite to the very heart of France, on the back of the other line. You remember that at the last of June, just a few American troops were there; and the enemy hoped to crush Italy and to go to France before America could come. Luckily for Italy, luckily for all the Allies, and you might say for the Italian bravery, they did not succeed. (Loud applause.)

After our victory on the Piave we went on from victory to victory. The Allied army on the western front scored a repulse and were quite ready to go right into the heart of Germany. The Italian troops scored a great decisive victory the last of October. Let me speak with personal pride of that victory. It was undoubtedly the biggest military victory of all history—not only of this war, but of all history. Never before was such a strong military power as Austria's so utterly crushed and defeated. After ten days of fighting, 800,000 prisoners, 7,000 guns, 250,000 horses, were there to give evidence of a real, decisive victory. (Applause.) I must say, too, that from a purely military point of view the victory was a signal tribute to the valor of the Italian. We had not more than 55 divisions, whereas the enemy threw in 73 Australian divisions and 60 German, Turkish, and Bulgarian divisions; we had with us two French and three British divisions. You see that only one-eleventh of our force was supplied by our allies. I cannot speak very much about the American, because we only had one American regiment—splendid boys, but only one. I do not want to be misunderstood. The presence of our Allies on our front was really inspiring, and of course we felt the moral support given to us. Not only that, but it was a splendid way to defeat German propaganda, because the form of German propaganda was that the Allies did not care for Italy, or what Italy was fighting for. Well, the three British Divisions, the two French Divisions, the American regiment, were a good military support, because, especially, they brought through our front their glorious flags to show the enemy our unity of faith, and to tell him what our Allies thought of Italy and Italy's aims. (Loud applause.)

I do not need to say any more about what Italy has done, but it is very important for me to tell you something about Italy's immense fortitude and immense sufferings. You know that Italy is very rich in blue sky, in sunshine, in very beautiful landscape. For centuries Italy has been called the Garden of Europe, and for that the barbarians came to see this garden (Laughter.) but as a matter of fact Italy is very poor in what is necessary not only to fighting but to life. Italy has no coal in her soil, and we are obliged to bring all of it from abroad. Very often we have been obliged to shut up our ammunition factories at the very moment that we needed them most, because we had no coal. We have been obliged to cut our railway traffic for lack of coal. Do not ask how we warmed our houses; for more than three years we did not warm them at all. Do not ask how we cooked our food; usually in the towns we cooked food with gas. In some towns they had four hours of gas, but in many towns, Rome for instance, they had gas two hours a day, only one hour at lunch time, and one hour at dinner time. During the war it was impossible for us to have a single cup of warm water. We were obliged to allow our business to go down, and to cut our beautiful forests; and while our Italian landscapes are very glorious indeed our country is now not beautiful at all.

In peace time we are obliged to import a great deal of our wheat, of which we have not enough to feed all our population; but in war times we could not have coal or wheat because we had not enough ships. Not only that, but practicaly all our men were called to the colours and could not cultivate the fields. The women everywhere did their best, in every province, in every field, but of course it was not enough. As to our men, at the beginning of the war Italy had a total population of about thirty-six million inhabitants. Of these, less than seventeen millions were males, from babies just born up to old men; out of this a number less than nine millions were men of working age, fit men. That is very easy to explain, because we have a very high emigration; there are so many Italians everywhere. I think there are altogether about twenty millions in the country, more or less, but there are six million Italians in the United States, and the emigration is made up of fit men, workmen, while boys and sick and old men are left behind in Italy. But out of less than nine million fit men, we drafted for the army five and a half millions. (Applause.) We have had a little less than four millions permanently attached to the colors. About two millions are casualties, and out of these half a million were killed, and the balance were mutilated, blinded, permanently disabled, etc.

Speaking about suffering, the situation is not very good even yet. We have had a little more than three pounds of bread a week. You must understand what that means, because our peasants live almost exclusively on bread—bread for breakfast, for lunch, and for dinner. I have observed in the United States that they have had one meatless day a week; but in our country we have had one or two meat days a month. (Laughter.) The allowance of meat is about one and a half pounds of meat a month, including all kinds, not as it was in the United States, for there, apart from the meatless days, they could have veal, pork or chicken; they had a porkless day, but they could have beef, veal or chicken. You can see from these statements that Italy really has suffered altogether. I don't say that by way of complaining, for Italy glories in her sacrifice. (Applause.) Italy knows that by superior law, in order to have a victory it is necessary to deserve it; and Italy feels that she has deserved the victory. (Loud applause.)

I want to say only a few words about Italy's co-operation in the other fronts. As you know, Italy had troops on the western front in France, troops in the Holy Land, and in Mesopotamia. Italy contributed a great deal to the advance in Mesopotamia by sending troops into Albania. Moreover, Italy was required to have troops in the Baltic, and where German propaganda was going on; and German leaders with Turkish troops were continually raising a revolution against us. The co-operation of Italians on the western front is not very well known, but we had about 200,000 men in France—100,000 as workmen and territorial soldiers, attacking men, gave very good co-operation in enabling France to free for service in the trenches very many French poilus. The fighting Italian soldiers behaved very well, and General Mangin, who had the Italian soldiers, testified to the proficiency of Italian troops. Bleni and Rheims were defended by Italians; our soldiers co-operated very valiantly in attacking the important position at Chemin des Dames; and just three days before the Armistice, the Italian flag waved upon Roqueloi, taken by Italians. (Applause.)

Now I must say something about the present situation. Italy has fought for the great common cause of right and justice, but Italy thought that as it was in the line of right and justice to give back Alsace and Lorraine to France, so it was in the line of right and justice to give back to Italy her own provinces. (Hear, hear.) It would take too long, perhaps, to examine the problem entirely now, but it is very important to say that Italy having, by the blood of her sons, by her sufferings and by her merit, won the greatest victory in history, the different nationalities and empires are free to recognize the nationalities just born through the Italian victory. To try now to deprive Italy of her just pride, and prevent her from recovering her provinces and her sons, would be unjust. Her opponents do not dare to deny that the provinces just redeemed have been Italian, as acknowledged by history, by language, by legend, by temperament, by aspiration, by sentiment—I do not say by ethnography—but they say, "Now we are here in the majority, and we want to have our land because we are a majority." But are they a majority? Their claims are founded upon Austrian statistics, and you can imagine how true those statistics can be. In our country we have so many names of German or Austrian or French or English extraction, and they are splendid Italians, so the question is, is there a majority? Well, if there is, what about that? Those countries have been Italian for centuries, and have struggled against their oppressors. We have had five wars against Austria, our hated enemy, during the last century, and we have hated Austria because she has oppressed us for centuries; she has killed our women, killed our babies, in order to suppress the Italian name, and this same thing is occurring now. Austria continued to occupy the unredeemed provinces after 1866, when we won back the Venetian plains. But we are not willing to have won a solid victory and yet not to take back our provinces.

In 1866 Austria forced aggression in our countries; Austria persecuted our countrymen, many of whom were hanged, and many of our head men were obliged to go abroad. Now, suppose there is a majority; this majority is in violation of justice, and the violation cannot be right. As a matter of fact we have again Austria against us. How long have you heard them speak of Italian aspiration on this land? For centuries. How long have you heard them speak about Jugo-Slav aspiration? Perhaps just two or three years ago. The Jugo-Slavs were created as a nation by Austria against us, and they have been driven to fight us; but you can be sure if they try—and they have begun to try—violence against us, you can be quite sure that all the Allies must feel that violence is a very poor argument. (Hear, hear.) But if they try upon us the right of might, we are quite disposed to make them feel the might of right; for you must remember that the Jugo-Slavs and Croatians have fought against the Allies till the last moment; they have fought for Austria, against which they have never rebelled. We must remember that the Croatians have been the instruments of Prussia against us.

But there is another thing. They lie when they speak about the situation. Two days ago I read in a New York paper an article saying that materialistic Italy was denying to a young nation an outlet on the Adriatic. That is quite false. Of course Italy wished to have all her own land, all her home lands preferred; but Italy must of course recognize that the new nation must have an outlet on the Adriatic. Italy is content to have all the ports that are especially Italian. Italy asks some recompense for the keeping of treaties, yet Italy grants the Jugo-Slavs two-thirds of the Dalmatian coast, with eight of the best ports in the Adriatic; and that is enough. (Hear, hear and applause.)

I must complain that very often in the press the cause of those enemies is promoted—enemies till yesterday, and indeed I am not sure that they are not any more enemies. Our descent is very much more direct, because Italy has suffered and fought and has been loyal to the Allies to the last. They speak of materialistic Italy. What about the Jugo-Slavs, who want Italy—who, in fact, have asked for such and such boundaries? The same boundary we had against Austria, and they ask us something more, because they make some reservation for what is on the bank of so and so. Materialistic Italy? Let me read only a few lines:

> "The error is to believe in the existence of an Italian imperialism. We deny its existence categorically. We find nothing in Italy's claims which is not in strict accord with her rights.
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> Italy aspires to nothing beyond completing her unity. She wants to add nothing to her soil nor to her history that does not legitimately belong to her. She reclaims the heritage of Rome and that of Venice, and she has the right to reclaim them, because to-day she is a great nation capable of looking after her own.
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> The Slav world and the Balkans begin on the other side of the Dinaric Alps. We deny the right of diplomats to indulge in experiments which, to say the least, would be unnatural and paradoxical. On the other hand, we have the fullest confidence in the judgment of the people. We ask the Allied peoples for their opinion as to whether Italy has not deserved, by her loyalty in the present imbroglio, to get back her lost provinces; we ask them whether, in the words of Louis Blanc, the moment

has not arrived for men who are engaged in the same fight to adopt "the simplest and the noblest of all theories—that of fraternity." (Hear, hear and applause.)

I say something more. Italy has had to make great sacrifices economically. She has spent in war four-fifths of her national wealth; she has been obliged to import everything from abroad; even for that she has been often obliged to pay double price for everything, because even in peace time our labor to equal one American dollar calls for five lire and three cents—until last August we paid for the dollar nine lire and thirteen cents; we have lost a lot of money only because we were poor. I tell you, Italy has not been a beggar economically, and Italy is not a beggar politically (Applause.) Italy does not appeal to the generosity of her Allies; Italy appeals to their justice. (Hear, hear and applause.) Italy has been loyal to the common cause of the Allies, and now she is quite assured that her Allies will be loyal to her. (Loud applause.)

THE FOUR PARTIES TO INDUSTRY

AN ADDRESS BY HON. WM. LYON MACKENZIE KING

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, *March* 13, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: When war broke out, workmen's sons and capitalists' sons sprang at the call of empire to fight on the battlefields of Europe for that Empire and for a great principle, while workmen and capitalists at home worked shoulder to shoulder, suffered the pangs of anxiety, and paid generously in order to back up their sons in the trenches. Now that the war is over, are they to forget the determination and the patriotism that prompted them to place in the thoughts of other nations of the world, the name of Canada, and place it on the high plane that it has to-day? I venture to answer, no. I feel quite sure that with ordinary Canadian common-sense the business men of Canada and the workmen of Canada will bring about an era of prosperity much greater than we have had; that they will realize that capital plus labor, and labor supported by capital, working sympathetically and co-operatively together, will enable Canada to recover first from the financial effects of the

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Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King has made a special study of industrial problems since his graduation from the University of Toronto in 1895. He has represented the Canadian Government from time to time in numerous industrial disputes, and was appointed Royal Commissioner to inquire into special problems dealing with Foreign immigration. During his tenure of office as Minister of Labor for Canada he was the author of important legislation on industrial matters. His experience and ability along industrial lines was recognized in 1914 by his appointment as Director of the investigation of industrial relations instituted by the Rockefeller Foundation in New York. He has achieved splendid recognition both as an author and speaker.

war. Now, I do not suppose there is any one on the continent more able to discuss this question than our distinguished guest of to-day. (Hear, hear and applause.) He has preached the gospel in the excellent book that he has just published. He has preached it from the public platform and through the press. Not only has he preached it, but he has practised it, having introduced it into some great industrial concerns of the United States with marvelous success. Gentlemen, it is a great honor to be able to call upon the Hon. MacKenzie King to address us to-day. By the way, I do not know what our American friends would do if their tariff included such a high duty on Canadian brains and energy as to preclude the possibility of them getting a man like MacKenzie King to solve their great problems that they have had to solve during the past few years. (Applause.) I have much pleasure in introducing Hon. Mr. King.

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Mr. President and Gentlemen: You will excuse me, I am sure, if the all-too-flattering remarks of the President make it difficult for me to express to him thanks for the very cordial welcome he has extended. I should like to thank him and the members of this Club for the great honor they have done me in inviting me to be one of the guests to address your membership.

I have chosen as a subject "The Four Parties to Industry," in order to emphasize a truth which seems to be fundamental in any attempt to cope with the industrial unrest which has followed so closely, and, one might add, so inevitably, in the wake of war. If there is to be release from the thraldom of fear in which men's minds are everywhere held, it is the Truth that shall set us free, and the enforcement of that Social Justice which the Truth demands.

THE MEANING OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST

Especially in industrial relations have we accepted with complacence an order of things to which we have grown accustomed. The shock of war, stirring the world's soul to its very depths, has brought before our eyes the shattered image of an industrial civilization which is full of injustice. It has left us to decide whether the new order shall be little more than a return to the old, with all its worship of material wealth and material power, and its relative indifference to human worth and human well-being; or whether it will be an order worthy of the sacrifices of the heroic dead, and the services of those who, on land and sea, have endured all manner of hardship and peril to preserve the liberties and freedom that we still enjoy.

Let us be assured of this: the unrest in the world of industry to-day is no ephemeral and transitory affair; no mere aftermath of the hideous convulsion which has shaken existing society to its very foundations. It is the voice of a grief-stricken humanity crying for justice in the relations of industry. Let us be equally assured that the sword is not the instrument, and repression not the method, to stay this unrest. The truth is mightier than the sword, and in conference and co-operation between all the parties interested, not in coercion of the others by any one, lies the only hope of an ultimate solution.

What is Industry?

We shall reach no understanding of the problems of industry until we adequately appreciate what industry itself is, and who the parties are that are responsible for the carrying on of industry.

Industry is the means by which the material resources of the world are transformed, through human intelligence and human energy, with the aid of natural powers, tools, and machines, into commodities and services available for human use. It is a vast process of transformation, itself a series of transforming processes so inter-related and numerous as to unite mankind, in this age of world-wide industrial expansion, in an enterprise that encompasses the globe.

The Parties to Industry

We are accustomed to discuss the problems of industry in terms of Capital and Labor. The inability to find a workable solution to many of these problems arises from a vision thus circumscribed, and an ignoring of other factors equal in significance and importance. To carry on industry in any but the most primitive kind of way, four parties, discharging separate and distinct functions, are necessary.

First of all, there is Labor, which supplies the muscular and mental energy necessary to effect the processes of immediate transformation.

Next, there is Capital, which is necessary to provide the raw materials, the tools, appliances, and equipment essential to industrial processes, and the advances in the way of food, clothing, and shelter required by Labor pending the distribution of the finished product.

Then there is Management, or Directing Ability. So frequently has Management been associated with the ownership of capital, that the identity of the former has more or less been merged in the latter. However, a moment's reflection is sufficient to disclose the complete dissimilarity of function between the two. Capital's contribution to industry is in the nature of material substance loaned by way of investment. Its possessor may be any kind of person, from a social parasite or ne'er-do-well, who is the inheritor of a fortune, to an infant totally incapable of any service to industry, and whose property is necessarily held in trust. Managerial ability, on the other hand, is in the nature of personal service of the very highest order, and is wholly necessary, not only to bring about efficient co-operation between Labor and Capital in the work of production, but also to effect and maintain right relations with the fourth party, without whose co-operation in all that pertains to industry the other three parties could accomplish little or nothing.

The fourth party is the Community, that entity which we speak of sometimes as organized society, under whose sanction all industry is carried on, and by whose continuous co-operation with the other parties to industry, production, distribution, and exchange are rendered possible.

Parties to Industry Interdependent

Not only are the four parties necessary to industry, but they are equally necessary to one another. Capital can do nothing without Labor. Labor can do nothing without Capital. Neither Labor nor Capital can co-operate effectively in industry save under the guiding genius of Management, and Management, however great its genius, can do nothing apart from the opportunities and privileges the Community affords.

If all four parties are necessary to industry, and equally necessary to one another, then, surely, all four should have some voice in the control of industry, and with regard to the conditions under which their services to industry are rendered.

Existing Organization of Industry Inadequate

Is our present organization of industry in any way suggestive of a partnership, in which Labor, Capital, Management, and the Community are regarded as interrelated and interdependent? Far from it, as everyone knows who has given the organization of industry a moment's reflection.—I am dealing, of course, only with the dominant types of large industrial organization, for it is mainly from this source that our present problems arise: transportation, manufacturing, mining, etc., etc.—So far as control goes, it is all in the nature of monopoly, and that a monopoly of control on the part of Capital.

The owners of capital, the capital investors, choose the Board of Directors; the Board of Directors choose the Management and dictate the policies. The Management regards itself as responsible solely to Capital. Labor and the Community become a consideration only in so far as they are able to make their power felt. Profits for Capital are a first consideration; profits usually as high as it is possible to make them. Wages to Labor, prices to the Community, are what they can be kept at, what the market will allow. Labor and the Community are not regarded as partners, entitled to share, through common knowledge, in a common venture, in gains and losses alike. Such control as they exercise is a control that is forced, not a control that is voluntarily shared; a control that in the nature of things begets an attitude of militancy on their part.

MONOPOLY OF CONTROL BY CAPITAL RESPONSIBLE FOR REACTIONS

It is this monopoly on the part of Capital in the control and direction of industry that has led to the developments that are described as socialistic, ultra-radical, and even anarchistic. More than any other factor, it lies at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time. The other parties to industry, though feeling themselves entitled to be regarded as partners, have despaired of gaining any measure of joint control by concession. They have felt themselves driven to exact, by force, what they believe to be their rightful dues. In the case of Labor, this demand for recognition in the control of industry has asserted itself in the form of strikes. In the case of the Community it has taken the form of arbitrary enactment, leading to an assumption of single control by the state or municipality.

DRIFT TOWARD MONOPOLY OF CONTROL BY THE COMMUNITY

What is the Socialistic State, or Collectivism, which is its industrial expression, other than industry so organized as to transfer industrial control from Capital to the Community, to the exclusion of the other parties? Under the Socialistic State, the Government would choose the managers of industry, would own the instruments of production, levying taxation where more Capital was required, and would fix the wages of Labor, and the prices at which commodities are to be sold.

The War has revealed that the Socialistic State, which many workers have been led to believe is certain to be beneficent and idealistic, may become the most bureaucratic and autocratic of agencies, holding within its power the lives and freedom of men, as well as the conditions of their employment. Germany has given that object-lesson to the world.

The little there has been of State control during the War has also revealed that the substitution of political managers for industrial managers is not likely to be the best for either industry or the State. Of that, all countries have had a taste.

DRIFT TOWARD MONOPOLY OF CONTROL BY LABOR

What are the extreme movements on the part of Labor but a similar reaction against the monopoly of Capital control? In its most violent forms, this reaction has found expression in Revolutionary syndicalism, Bolshevism, and certain forms of I.W.W.-ism, where, in addition to the ignoring of Capital and Management as parties to industry, the Community is also ignored, and Red Terror used to supplant Reason in all that pertains to the accomplishment of lawless designs.

Guild Socialism is similarly a reaction on the part of Labor against monopoly of control on the part of Capital. Like State Socialism, it would rule out Capital's right to joint control just as effectively as Capitalism seeks to rule out Labor's right to joint control; but as the predominant factor in control it would substitute national guilds for the state. Industrial unions would select the managers, would own the capital, and would determine alike wages and prices.

In protesting against an actual monopoly of control by Capital under Capitalism, and a possible monopoly of control by the State under Socialism, Guild Socialism would establish a monopoly of control by Labor under National Industrial Guilds. This is a natural reaction. It represents the extreme of the protest by a militant Labor Unionism against the monopoly of control by Capital, just as Collectivism represents the extreme of a protest of an aggressive State Socialism against the monopoly of Capitalistic control. Guild Socialism and Collectivism are alike in that each would oust Capitalism by setting up a monopoly of its own.

ABOLITION OF MONOPOLY CONTROL THE ONLY REMEDY

But the cure for monopoly of control by one of the parties to industry is not to be found in the substitution of monopoly of control by one of the other parties; it lies in the destruction of monopoly altogether. It is to be found in the substitution of joint control for single control.

Single control, whether it be by Capital, Labor, or the State, sooner or later is certain to mean autocratic control. Whether Labor or the State as the autocrat is preferable to existing capitalistic control, beholden as it is, in some measure at least, to both Labor and the State, is something to which conditions in Europe at the present time afford an all-sufficient answer.

It is not monopoly of control in any form that we must seek to bring about in this period of transition, but a gradual evolution into a system of joint control, whereby each of the parties to industry will be afforded a voice in the determination of the terms and conditions upon which its services to industry are rendered.

The Wisdom and Justice of Joint Control

And is not joint control by all the parties to industry in every way eminently wise, as well as fundamentally just? Is it not in every way, in the long run, to the interests of industry, and to the interests of each of the parties to industry? Continuance of the system of monopoly of control by Capital is no longer possible. Once autocracy was doomed in the political world, its doom was equally sounded for the industrial. The interest of every one of the parties to industry is being menaced to-day in the reactions to which the monopoly of control by Capital has given rise.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Capital

No one of the parties stands to lose quite so much through a continuance of the struggle arising out of the monopoly of control by Capital, as Capital itself. As things are to-day, it is at Capital, and at Management, identified with Capital, that the stones are being blindly hurled. War ridden, hungry, and penniless, men and women have witnessed the wanton extravagance of many of those possessed of luxury. They have become bewildered with a condition which enables an idle investor to reap a fortune while the masses toil excessive hours for a bare subsistence. They have lost sight altogether of the services of Capital and Management in witnessing the debauchery of indolence combined with riches, and the unearned millions of profiteers.

But let the service that Capital and Management are capable of rendering industry once be lost to sight, and industry itself will be ruined, and with it the well-being of Labor and the Community as well. What is needed is, not the ruination of Capital and Management, but that each be given its rightful place in a system of the government of industry which will make for the good of all the parties to production.

EXISTING MONOPOLY OF CONTROL UNFAIR TO MANAGEMENT

Nor is the monopoly of control by Capital wholly fair to Management, or in its best interests. It has been my privilege to talk pretty freely during the past few years with the managers of many large industries, and I find in the minds of not a few of them a feeling that everything is to be gained, and nothing lost, by having the function of Capital and the function of Management kept separate and distinct, and Management given a freer hand in considering the interests of Labor and the Community.

Some managers there are who obtain their positions, not in virtue of any special skill in managerial ability, but because of personal ownership of large quantities of capital, or intimate association or relationship with some investor. The incompetence of such managers, and their slavish subservience to privilege and position, to the exclusion of a due consideration of the rights of Labor and of the Community, only serve to rouse the bitter antagonism of both these parties, who feel that their rightful interests, as necessary partners in industry, are being thwarted and jeopardized.

Not a little of the militant attitude on the part of Labor, and impatience on the part of the public with the present order of industry, is due to a feeling that some managers fail to render to industry any service at all commensurate with the enormous salaries they receive, and to a belief that the interests of Labor and of the Community alike are sacrificed to incompetence and extravagance which would not be permitted were all four parties to industry allowed some voice in the shaping of industrial policy.

Management, instead of being regarded as the servant of Capital exclusively, ought to be in a position to regard itself, as in fact it is, one of the necessary parties to industry, and as such entitled to a voice in matters which pertain to its administrative functions; responsible in the exercise of its duties, not to one party only, but to all.

In the emancipation of Management from the single control of any one of the parties, whether it be Capital, Labor, or the Community, and in the development of its function into that of a responsible executive, concerned equally with all the interests of the necessary parties to industry, lies the hope of any ultimate solution of the industrial problem.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Labor

Referring to what is fundamentally right and just, may it not be asked: Is Labor not quite as much entitled to a voice in the control of industry as Capital? It is investment in industry which affords the right to share in corporate control. Capital and Management receive representation on this basis. If Capital and Management are so entitled, why not Labor also?

Industry is a joint venture, a venture of Labor as well as of Capital. The difference in the nature of the investment of Capital and Labor only serves to emphasize the fundamental justice of Labor's right to a share in control. The investment of Capital is in the nature of an investment of substances and dollars; the investment of Labor is an investment in the nature of skill and life. The one is a material, the other a human investment; and of the two, the one involving life is the more precious.

The capital investor—the individual who in industry loans and risks his capital or a part of it—receives for his capital a return in the form of interest; but he receives something more. As an investor, he becomes entitled to a voice in the control of the industry in which his investment is made. The life or labor investor—the worker who in industry loans and risks life, or gives to industry that part of it described as labor—receives for his labor, which is the use of his life and skill for the time in which labor is given, a return in the form of wages. He lacks, however, the additional right, which Capital receives, of a share in the government of industry. If Capital obtains this right, in addition to financial reward for the use of capital for the time for which it is invested, is Labor not in justice equally entitled, in addition to its monetary reward, to a voice in the control of industry in which, for the time being, its life and skill are likewise invested? If investment in industry has any meaning at all, it is surely one equally shared by the man who gives his labor and the man who gives his capital.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to the Community

The Community's right to representation in the control of industry, and in the shaping of industrial policies, is wholly similar to that of Labor. But for Community investment on a local, national, and international scale, Capital, Labor, and Management would be obliged to make scant shrift under present-day conditions of world competition. But what of the Community's part in industry? Here, too, is joint venture on the part of the Community just as much as on the part of Labor, Capital, or Management. What is 99 per cent. of the expenditure of government in normal times but outlays in the nature of investment in industry: investment in property and services of one kind or another, which alone makes possible the vast co-operation and co-ordination of effort which is the very life-blood of industry?

The vaster industrial organization becomes, the more it depends, in a multitude of directions, upon the investments of the Community.

It is the Community which provides the natural resources and powers that underlie all production. Individuals may acquire title by one means or another, but it is from the Community, and with the consent of the Community, that titles are held. It is the Community, organized in various ways, which maintains government and foreign relations, secures law and order, fosters the arts and inventions, aids education, breeds opinion, and promotes, through concession or otherwise, the agencies of transportation, communication, credit, banking, and the like, without which any production, save the most primitive, would be impossible. It is the Community which creates the demand for commodities and services, through which Labor is provided with remunerative employment, and Capital with a return upon its investment. Apart from the Community, inventive genius, organizing capacity, managerial or other ability would be of little value. Turn where one may, it is the Community that makes possible all the activities of industry, and helps to determine their value and scope.

Community investment is supposed to receive its return in enhanced purchasing power to consumers as respects the number and quality of available services and commodities. This is a return akin to the interest Capital receives, and to the wages Labor receives. But is not the Community equally entitled, on grounds of investment, to a voice in the control of industry and in the shaping of industrial policy? Without participation by the Community in the control of industry, there is nothing to prevent the emergence of a joint-profiteering scheme by the other parties, in which high wages and high profits are secured by charges which fall either immediately or ultimately upon consumers.

Single Control Must Give Way to Partnership

If industry is to cease to be the battleground of rival factions, each selfishly seeking its own interest, regardless of the interests of the others, its government must cease altogether to be a matter of single control by one of the parties, or of contending controls by the several parties. The parties to industry must be brought into a relationship of partnership, with a recognized community of control.

Partnership is essentially a matter of status. It does not involve identity or similarity of function on the part of the partners, or equality of either service or rewards; but it does imply equality as respects the right of representation in the determination of policy on matters of common interest. It is this principle that has thus far so largely failed of recognition. The justice of the principle, however, cannot be gainsaid.

THE NECESSARY TRANSITION

If to secure a just consideration of the rights of all four parties to industry something in the nature of a partnership, involving community of control, is necessary, how, it will be asked, is that transition to be effected? Certainly, it will never be brought about by violent upheavals or revolutionary methods, which serve only to disorganize industry and occasion loss to all its parties. It must be brought about in an evolutionary manner, here a little, there a little, line upon line, precept upon precept, all working toward the consummation of one ideal.

GOVERNMENT IN THE STATE A GUIDE TO GOVERNMENT IN INDUSTRY

There is much in the government of the State to give us guidance as well as hope in the evolution of government within industry. The British constitution may have its limitations, but no instrument of government has ever been devised which has so effectively helped to preserve and extend the freedom and liberties of men. What the British constitution stands for in the government of the State, we should aim at effecting in the working out of a constitution for industry. It will not all be accomplished within a day; neither need it be the work of generations. With free political institutions our one great inheritance, the application to industry of those principles which underlie government within the State should be neither impossible nor difficult. A willingness to recognize the justice of them, and to act in the light of knowledge we already have, is all that is necessary.

From Autocratic to Responsible Government

In government within the State, there are three outstanding stages of development. The first stage is that of the autocratic executive, in which there is single control by one only of the parties to the State. King John is an out-standing example of this type of autocratic government. It was not believed, in the time of John, that the people had any ability to govern themselves. Even the lords and the nobles were without a voice in the government of the kingdom. They secured the first advance in popular liberties when they wrested the Magna Charta from John, and secured his signature to a written statement of their rights as citizens.

Representative Government marks the next important phase in the evolution of government within the State. That takes us back to 1265, to the famous Parliament of Simon de Montfort, when for the first time in British history there was at least an attempt at representation of all three estates. At the outset, representation was restricted and nominal. All subsequent development has been in the nature of broadening the basis of representation, and of rendering more effective the representation gained.

It is only within the past century that the highest form of government, namely, Responsible Government, has been attained. Under Responsible Government, the executive is responsible to the people as a whole, not to any one class.

When the managers of industry become responsible to Labor, Capital, and the Community for the manner in which their vast powers and opportunities are exercised, we shall have something in the government of industry closely resembling the responsible executive in the government of the State. Meanwhile, our duty would appear to be that of putting an end to autocracy and monopoly of control, no matter by which of the parties to industry it may be attempted or exercised, and to work out a system of joint-control based upon representation of all the parties in the determination of industrial policy.

THE BASIS OF AN INDUSTRIAL CONSTITUTION

Time forbids more than a suggestion or two as to the manner in which a constitution for the parties to industry might be worked out in a way which will help to allay the industrial unrest of our times, and advance the highest interests of industry, and of all its parties. Obviously, what is most needed is recognition of the fact that industry is not a matter which concerns only one party, but that it is of vital concern to all four: to Capital, to Labor, to Management, and to the Community, and that no one of the four is entitled to a monopoly of control.

Once recognition is given the four parties to industry, the solution of the problem of industrial relations is a matter simply of proceeding in accordance with principles which have long been regarded as obviously fair and just.

THE PRINCIPLE OF CONFERENCE

The first of these principles I should like to mention is that of *Conference.* It is impossible to get anywhere with a man with whom you are unwilling to confer. Conference is chiefly a matter of attitude. It implies approach, good-will, confidence; not aloofness, distrust, and suspicion, which too frequently is the attitude between the parties to industry.

Conference between the four parties to industry has been tried, and with the best of results. It was found absolutely necessary to the winning of the War. It was not until the Government of Britain, representing the Community, invited Capital, Management, and Labor to meet in common, and policies were arrived at as the result of Round Table Conference, that the necessary adjustments of industry were so arranged as to make possible the vast production of munitions required to win the War. What was necessary to the winning of the War is equally necessary to the winning of Peace—which we can hardly say exists so long as international strife gives way only to industrial unrest.

THE PRINCIPLE OF INVESTIGATION

The second principle is that of *Investigation.* Investigation is but a method of getting at the truth; and, as I said at the outset, it is the truth alone that shall set us free. In problems of the magnitude of those which industry presents, any just solution is impossible without a knowledge of the facts. There are certain evils which publicity is more effective in preventing and remedying than penalty; and unfair dealing between the parties to industry are of this kind. Meanness, injustice, gross selfishness—these cannot endure under the light of an intelligently formed public opinion. Most industrial ills belong to this class.

Investigation, too, has been tried between the four parties to industry, and found to be of the utmost service.

I notice that the Minister of Labor informed the House of Commons a day or two ago that Canada had had fewer strikes in recent years than any other country in the world. If that statement is true, and I believe it is, it is because we have on our statutes a law which makes provision for the investigation of industrial controversies prior to lockouts and strikes.

The principle of that law is the one being acted upon in Great Britain to-day. If England is being saved at the moment from industrial strife, hardly less frightful in its horrible consequences than actual war, it is because Capital and Management, Labor and the Community, are represented upon the Commission recently appointed by Mr. Lloyd George to investigate the demands of the miners, and the condition of the coal mining industry throughout Britain.

It is upon the same principle of investigation prior to the commencement of hostilities that the League of Nations is being founded. If war between nations and between the parties to industry is to end, it will only be through the acceptance of the principle of investigation before a severance of relations.

What we need quite as much as a League of Nations is a League of the Parties to Industry to see to the enforcement of this great principle, and the moulding of public opinion to that end. Such a league, I believe, would lead, even more quickly than a league of nations, to the maintenance of international, as well as of industrial, peace. Accustom men to the adoption of fundamental principles in adjusting their industrial relations, something which immediately concerns their everyday life, and the application of like principles to international affairs will take care of itself.

THE PRINCIPLE OF ORGANIZATION AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

A third principle is that of *Organization and Collective Action.* The problems of industry are world problems. To cope with them successfully, organization is absolutely necessary.

What would become of Capital, under the stress of world competition, if its units were not permitted to coalesce, and large organization of business thereby rendered impossible? What would become of the Community, if its activities were not organized? Deprive managers of the right of membership in an employers' or manufacturers' association, and they would be the first to say that their liberties had been infringed. Where, then, is the justice of denying to one party to industry a right which is conceded as just and necessary to the other three? If Capital, Management, and the Community have the right to organize, so also should Labor have this right.

Without organization of Labor—where Capital, Management, and the Community are organized—what equality of relationship can there possibly be between the four parties to industry? And where, under such a condition, are the individual units of Labor likely to find themselves in the teeth of a world competition, more relentless where Labor is concerned than in the case of Capital or Management? Labor left but briefly in a condition of isolation will starve; Capital and Management are usually in a position to wait.

It is not against organization that we ought to protest, but against the possible abuses of organized power.

In this connection it is well to remember that the use of a thing is one thing, and its abuse another; and that with human nature what it is, abuses of power are not confined to any one class.

The Principle of Representation

A fourth principle is that of *Representation.* Here we are at the beginning of the real solution of the problems of industry. Government within the State has widened down from autocratic authority to authority broad-based upon a people's will. The expansion of the principle of representation is responsible for that development. It will be equally so in industry. The problems of industry are essentially problems of government. Adequate representation of the parties, effected through organization, all enjoying the right of investigation, and meeting in Round Table Conference—in such an obviously just and fair arrangement, we have the beginnings of law and order in industry, just as we have had it in the State, and the hope of a future development along constitutional and evolutionary lines, instead of along lines that are illegal and revolutionary.

Joint Committees and Joint Industrial Councils

Once the principle of representation is conceded, it is only a step to the formation of joint committees of employers and employees, the establishment of known, orderly, and expeditious procedure in all matters requiring adjustment, and the determination of industrial policies in a manner which will have regard for the interests of all concerned.

From joint committees in individual establishments, meeting at periodical intervals for little more than purposes of conference and consultation, the principle of representation should lead to the establishment of permanent standing joint industrial councils, embracing all the workers and all the employers in a given trade or industry and concerned with the determination of industrial policies, and the fixation of industrial standards enforceable throughout by the co-operation of Government, representing the Community and protecting its interests. This, as you know, is the objective of the recommendations of the so-called Whitley Committee which the Government of Great Britain has adopted as the corner-stone of its reconstruction policy.

Nor is the formation of such joint committees and industrial councils any longer a matter of experiment. Every day is adding to the number that are being formed, many of them in industries which have hitherto opposed anything in the way of organization among employees, and which have conceded little or nothing in the way of conference.

THE SERVICE OF ORGANIZED LABOR

The Trade Unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. They have pioneered the path; they have blazed the trail which has led to collective bargaining, joint agreements, and contracts between the parties to industry. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this struggle for recognition on the part of Organized Labor. It has involved any amount of ill-feeling and misunderstanding, and fostered no end of prejudice and hatred; but the real purport of Labor's struggle is coming to be better understood, and the part which the large organizations of Capital and of Labor are capable of playing in reconstructing human society is emerging into clearer day.

It is coming to be seen that the control of Labor by its leaders is wholly dependent upon its organization into conservatively directed unions; that it is among the unorganized and undisciplined workers that Bolshevism and I.W.W.-ism recruit their armies of terror and destruction. In a union of the organized forces of Labor and of Capital, against a common enemy which menaces all human society, lies the hope of the future. Industrial concerns which have hitherto stood out against anything in the nature of a democratic organization of industry will do well to evidence a disposition to act upon the principles of conference, investigation, organization, and representation, in dealings with their employees, and to concede to Labor the right of collective bargaining, and a voice in the determination of terms of employment and matters pertaining to their working and living conditions.

It may be that Labor needs educating, that its leaders need more in the way of experience; but, in the absence of other opportunities, whence are education and qualities of leadership to be gained if not in the industries in which Labor is employed, and through joint dealings with parties more highly favored?

The Joint Industrial Councils being formed in England show how this new approach between Capital and Labor is certain, in its most highly developed forms, to take account of existing organizations of Labor and Capital, and to change the attitude of these powerful bodies from one of militancy based on a belief in opposed interests into one of co-operation based on a belief in the larger interests which they have in common.

A New Spirit Necessary

One thing, and one thing only, remains to ensure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old; but without it nothing can be achieved. It is the acceptance by each of the parties to industry of the spirit which has saved not only Britain, but the world, in the overthrow of Prussian arrogance and ambition. It was through a love of liberty and a hatred of domination that men by millions sacrificed their lives that freedom might not perish from the earth. The overthrow of Prussian despotism is only part of the vast undertaking which the free nations of the world have still before them if Freedom worthy of the name is to be maintained. Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand in hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. The latter combination is as ill-mated as the former is natural. To the nations that have won political freedom, there remains the task of re-organizing their industries into harmony with their governments. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict. Institutions opposed in organization and spirit can work against each other only till one or the other prevails. To democratize industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is the task that lies ahead.

A NEW CONCEPTION OF INDUSTRY

With the new spirit must come also a wholly new conception of industry. No longer must industry be thought of as a mere revenue-producing process, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community meet like so many rival and contending factions, each to appropriate to itself by force or might the largest possible share of the fruits of industry. Industry must be thought of, as in reality it is, as in the nature of social service, and participation in industry, whether in the form of labor or capital investment, as social service of the highest kind, since upon its successful accomplishment rest all other forms of human service.

AN EASTER HOPE

May I conclude these remarks with words with which I have concluded a volume in which I have sought to enlarge upon the principles outlined to-day. This moment of silence at the close of the Great War, and this Lenten season, seem to lend them appropriateness to this occasion, and to the subject we have been considering.

"Is it too much to believe that, having witnessed Humanity pass through its Gethsemane, having seen its agony in its Garden of Fears, having beheld its crucifixion upon the cross of Militarism, Labor and Capital will yet bring to a disconsolate and broken-hearted world the one hope it is theirs alone to bring; and that, in the acceptance of principles which hold deliverance from the scourges that beset mankind, they will roll back the stone from the door of the world's sepulchre to-day, and give to Humanity the promise of its resurrection to a more abundant life?"

HON. SENATOR NICHOLS expressed the thanks of the Club to the speaker.

BRAIN, BRAWN, CAPITAL

AN ADDRESS BY REV. A. E. RIBOURG, D.D.
VICAR OF SAINT ALBAN'S CATHEDRAL, TORONTO.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, March 20, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: Dr. Ribourg does not need any introduction to the members of this Club. We all know him very well, not only as a close, careful student of public affairs, but as one of the most eloquent preachers of the City of Toronto. But in addition to that we know him so well some of us claim that he is a "live wire." Now, it is not often you can apply that term to a clergyman (laughter) but I can assure you that in this case we can, because during our campaign last fall, when that team of ten brought in 400 new members, Dr. Ribourg, as a member of that team, was the fourth highest man on the team. (Applause.) So I think in every sense of the word he is a real live wire. I take pleasure in introducing Rev. Dr. Ribourg.

REV. DR. A. E. RIBOURG: Gentlemen, the great war just ended in the history of mankind the closing of an era, of an age remarkable for its wonderful discoveries and inventions, for its colossal accumulation of wealth, due largely to the exploitation of the natural resources of the earth, on a scale hitherto unknown.

These fruits of human genius and human labor, have been used for the destruction and the impoverishment of the race, in a war which has sacrificed on the altars of Thor and Odin, millions of lives and billions of treasury. But, if the price paid by our generation,

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Reverend A. E. Ribourg was born and educated in France. He came to Canada several years ago and was appointed to a prominent Anglican Church in Winnipeg. He is at present Vicar of Saint Albans Cathedral, Toronto.

has surpassed anything ever paid by a generation of men as their contribution to human progress, the results obtained, cannot either be compared with anything ever achieved, through men's sufferings and sacrifices.

We have witnessed the dismemberment of Empires built on mediaeval and reactionary conceptions. The mighty war engine of the military despots has been crushed. The crowns of autocrats have fallen in the dust, their thrones have crumbled. Those who in their madness have precipitated the horrible conflict, have disappeared from the scene of international politics never to return. Their dreams of world domination by brute force have been shattered by the irresistible forces of the world's free democracies, and the will of emancipated peoples is everywhere on God's earth asserting its authority. A new world has come into being under our very eyes, and we owe its advent to the valor of the men who have gladly offered their lives for the triumph of Right, and to the sacrifices of the multitudes of women, who have given their all, that freedom might not perish from the earth.

But, gentlemen, what is the meaning of these two words, "New World"? Does it mean a world physically new, a world with new geographical delineations, but a world morally and socially identical to the world of pre-war days? It cannot be. Just as a hurricane that sweeps over a beautiful land, leaves in its path some changes on the panorama, so must the great war, that brought death and destruction, change not only the face of the earth, but also the outlook, habits and character of men and women, and leave the world a different world from what it was five years ago. The great conflict has left us with new problems to solve, and new dangers to overcome.

Of all the problems facing mankind today, there is perhaps, none more important than the problem of the social welfare of the men and women who compose the real asset and wealth of any country. We must acknowledge the fact, that through all the centuries, governments and leading citizens, have been more interested in securing material wealth and power for their respective countries than in assuring the welfare of the citizens, who through their labor, were responsible for that wealth and power. The war has revealed the value of brawn as a wealth producer, and, as a consequence, labor has become more conscious of its importance as a factor in the success of industrial and commercial enterprises. Its unequivocal demands and claims, have become so insistent that they are commanding all the attention of the other classes, which heretofore have been disinterested spectators in the periodical skirmishes between Labor and Capital.

The conflict between Labor and Capital is not the fruit of the war, for it is as old as the world. But the war has emphasized in a most convincing manner, the fact, that without Labor, Capital is powerless,, and that without Capital, Labor lacks the necessary force without which no industry can subsist. Whatever reasons may be advanced by these two great factions of the industrial and commercial worlds, in the defence of their respective positions, one fact remains—the fact that the world at large is facing, a conflict whose issues will affect all men all over the civilized world.

Considering my calling, I realize, that it would be highly improper for me, to dogmatize on the subject of Capital and Labor. How can industry and commerce be adjusted to meet the demands of labor, and, at the same time safeguard the interests of capital, is not for me to say. This, is in the province of the economists, of the industrial and commercial experts, and, I hold that it is the duty of a true democratic government to engage the services of such experts, taken from both the ranks of Labor and Capital, and give them the task of finding a "Modus vivendi," whereby the interests of both Capital and Labor will be safeguarded and then frame laws accordingly, and apply those laws regardless of persons.

To this, Labor may object, saying that most statesmen are invariably in favor of the Capitalists. To this, I answer that the workingmen have nobody to blame but themselves. Universal suffrage gives the workingmen whose numbers are legions, the privilege to send to

Parliament, whoever they think capable of representing their cause. Morever, they still have the privilege to remove the men of their choice, if they discover them unworthy of their trust.

It is becoming the imperious duty of every true democratic government to assist rather than retard evolution, to remove discontent and prevent disorder, by remedying the legitimate economic complaint of the people, instead of trying to stamp out by force just grievances, and as a consequence, we shall have a community contented to achieve political progress and material comfort by orderly and constitutional methods—rather than by the bayonet and the bomb.

Gentlemen, the question of Labor and Capital has ceased to be a question of high and low wages, of employment or unemployment, to be settled by the parties concerned, but it has become a moral issue, affecting the welfare of every human being all over the civilized world. Men should be able to read the signs of these times. The handwriting on the wall is no longer mystifying. Its terms cannot be misunderstood. The banding together of every trade and every laboring occupation of whatever kind, the strikes, the boycotts and the popular clamor that is being stirred up against the wealthy class, cannot be long in reaching a terrible climax. The antagonistic forces are closing in upon each other.

The workingmen declare that they are being defrauded out of an equitable proportion of the increase of wealth. They claim that while the capitalists are amassing vast fortunes, and are living in wanton and wasteful luxury, they, are reduced to drudgery and poverty. They claim that in time of prosperity, Capital is laying aside a part of its colossal profits, and when the time of depression comes, it is still able to live sumptuously, while they, the workers, having no profits to lay aside, but only an inadequate weekly wage, to live on, are expected to suffer privation and want. Therefore in addition to adequate wages, Labor demands a fair share of the profits resulting from the industry, its toil is aiding to develop. Labor demands shorter hours not only to avoid over-production, but to secure for itself a fair amount of the joys and pleasures of life.

Labor demands clean and comfortable houses at reasonable renting or selling prices. Labor demands representation on the boards of Directors of the industrial and commercial concerns which without its toil could not exist, or in other words, Labor demands to enter into partnership with Capital.

Whatever Capital thinks itself capable of doing in the way of meeting the demands of Labor, there is one thing certain, and it is this—that Capital must come to a quick decision, if it is to avert the threatening dangers which an obstinate refusal to all legitimate demands may precipitate. "Civilization," said Lloyd George recently, "unless we try to save it, may be precipitated and shattered to atoms. It can only be saved by the triumph of justice and fair play to all classes alike." And, indeed, conditions have become alarming. Strikes, lockouts, ultimatums, sabotage, deadlocks, cannot longer be tolerated, because they have ceased to be the affair of Capital and Labor. The public at large is involved in the contest and is the worst sufferer. These stoppages affect prices. They stem the current of commerce through which public necessities are supplied. They foment prejudices and ill-judgment and involve a wastage in the volume of both our mental and material resources.

But how can this discontent and unrest be removed? Only by removing the conditions which cause them, so that the sure way to keep a man at his job is to make it worth his while to stick to it.

Any fair minded person will admit that the condition of the working class has been for centuries one of drudgery, want, and in many instances of absolute serfdom. A new social order fitting with our modern ideas of comfort must replace the old order, built on the conceptions of mediaeval times.

"The employer," says again Lloyd George, "must never again say. 'You are earning too much, your wages must come down.' Unemployment must be banished, and the workers must never again be put in the horrors of distress and hunger. Let the workers understand that where there is an increase of products they will get a fair share of it."

These words of the Premier of England, are words of warning like those of the prophets of old, and woe to the men in the British Empire, who let them pass unheeded. On them will fall the responsibility of the excesses which their blindness and obstinacy may precipitate upon the country.

Gentlemen, I reiterate that this conflict is a moral issue and it must be settled on the basis of Justice. Labor must have not only adequate wages, but the best conditions of living, and sufficient leisure not for loafing, but for the attainment of a higher standard of education and refinement. Often do we hear from investment holders and middle-class well-to-do people this absurd comment, "Should the working class" they say, "be paid a higher wage, they would spend it foolishly in buying pianos and gramophones and costly dining room sets, etc."

Common sense and justice, however, say that these people have as much right to do what they see fit with the money they have earned with the sweat of their brows, as the man who has earned his by the exertion of his brain. Such an argument, only serves to widen the chasm, already existing between the antagonistic classes. We need to-day a renaissance in our conceptions of men and of things, as well as in our methods of doing things.

The old system of conducting a business with so many hands under a boss is obsolete. Employer and employee are partners in a common enterprise. For the spirit of distrust and suspicion now prevailing between Capital and Labor, must be substituted a spirit of co-partnership. The financial and commercial sides of an industry are matters for the Directors and management, but matters relating to wages, hours, workshop conditions, systems of superintendence, terms arising from changes in production or new schemes of manufacture, are matters which interest both the employee and employer, and therefore representatives of both sides should meet to discuss these subjects together—each determined to respect the other's interests as well as his own.

Such a co-partnership or co-operation, will acquaint the employee with the employer's responsibilities and problems. Labor will then realize that an industry cannot subsist, unless its management is capable of storing up a certain amount of the money produced by that industry to insure further production. Many workmen have been taught to hate capital as little children have been taught to hate the hobgobblin. They have been taught that Capital is that dreadful conniver that is always manœuvring, undermining and destroying the worker.

But this is, as if the workmen should hate the electricity that sets his machinery in motion—as if he hated the waterfall that turns his turbine wheel—as if he hated the steam that pushes his locomotive.

On the other hand, the Capitalist has come to hate labor, because it objects to allow him run his industries and his commercial combinations on the obsolete theories of the past, theories which have been responsible for colossal fortunes on the one side, and the most abject conditions of poverty and destitution on the other.

This sad state of affairs cannot last indefinitely without bringing upon mankind a catastrophe, perhaps worse in its conseqences than the war just ended.

The present after-war industrial and economic problems will not be settled by what the workmen will now have to do. Workmen are talking about what employers will have to do. It is evident that Capital must yield for the national interest as much as Labor.

No industrial harmony can exist, unless the three great factors of production, Brain, Brawn and Capital form an "Entente," and resolve to treat each other on the basis of justice and fair play. Alone, each of those three factors is impotent and needs the help of the others to become efficient. Alone, Capital could not fling the gigantic bridge across the St. Lawrence River, and alone, Labor could not conceive and execute the project without the co-operation of both, brain and capital. The three must unite in the great achievement and so in every industrial and commercial enterprise.

The inventor and the scientist must be encouraged and adequately rewarded as they were during the war, to furnish their quota of mental energy for the common weal. Labor must realize that brain cannot be restricted by a limit of working hours, nor remunerated by a uniform wage. But, as its contribution to industry and commerce is of tremendous importance, it must be rewarded accordingly, both during the period of experimentation and the period of the actual use of its invention. The worker cannot expect to put his six or eight hours a day of labor against the five or ten years of brain work of the inventor. If Capital and Labor are to act fairly with the brain worker they must take him into their considerations in the repartition of the wealth he helped them to produce. We may say that the same fair treatment should be accorded those who take care of the financial end of industry and commerce, from the managers down to the salesmen and the stenographers.

Industry is after all, gentlemen, a social function, and its reform must promise not only a higher status to privileged groups, but must carry with it, the interests of the community at large. The principle of industry is a form of public service.

Judging industry from this standpoint, three implications are involved: First, the community should be offered the best service possible at the lowest price compatible with adequate payment to those who provide it. The second implication is, that when all charges necessary to the supply of a service have been met, any surplus which exists should pass to the community. The third is that no class should receive an income from which no service is rendered.

This, you may say, is an idealistic, Utopian conception of industry. Perhaps as things are—as they are today, with our systems of trusts and monopolies and our various agencies for the production of multimillionaires, this may be an idealistic conception. But those who can read the signs of the times, affirm that this ideal must become a reality, if we are to avoid a greater danger. Let us trust that if this ideal is to make its advent among us, it will be by constitutional methods and by the intelligent co-operation of all of the factors of industry and commerce.

Many of our commercial leaders are concerned to see that Labor pays so little regard to the problems of competition with other countries. They imagine national ruin and bankruptcy, and foresee an enormous increase of unemployment and distress. Labor, however, must be given credit for being endowed with at least some degree of intelligence.

The livelihood of workers depends on their ability to sell the produce of their labor, at a reasonable price. If they demand wages in excess of what the business can bear, and in excess of what the consumer can pay, they bring penury and starvation on their own heads. As Labor is becoming internationalized, we may be confident that the trade-unions will find the solution of the problem of international competition.

But, this means that the few hundred men of every nation who have for the last fifty years controlled the immense wealth of the world, will have to come to an understanding with the representatives of Labor. In case of undue obstinacy on their part to come to fair terms, it may mean in every country the nationalization of the essential products of life, as well as that of public utilities.

That a settlement of this serious problem on a just basis should be obtained soon, is most imperative, if we are to avoid in our civilized world, the worst conflict that has ever threatened mankind.

"If Bolshevism," says Bishop Williams of Michigan, "ever sweeps over England and over this continent, it will be due, not to the labor agitators, for no one would follow them, if they have no real cause for agitation. It will not be due to the ignorant laborers who fly the red flag, but, it will be due to the blind reactionaries who resist the cosmic tide of the new democracy."

The employer who, when in conflict with his employees refuses a government commission to investigate the causes of discontent in his industry, is, at this juncture when the tide of democracy is spreading around the world, inviting the excesses of anarchy in his country.

The man who opposes the rising surge of aspiration with a ruthless autocracy in industry, finance or commerce, for his selfish gain, is preparing evil days for himself and his countrymen.

Bolshevism and anarchy are only the septic poisoning of a diseased system. It thrives best in the countries where the masses of the working people are poorly paid, and where colossal fortunes are amassed by a few and spent in sinful luxury. It is the story of Russia, and to-morrow it may be the story of all countries where such unhappy conditions prevail.

If you would avoid Bolshevism, and its excesses, keep the body politic healthy, the industrial body healthy, and do away with the conditions which breed this pestilent germ.

Gentlemen, for the high cause of Democracy, for a better world, for justice, for civilization, for a happier humanity, have the valiant troops of the Entente countries, suffered and bled. For the redeeming of the race from the clutches of an insane militarism and arrogant autocracy, many have given their life. It is incumbent upon us, the living, to make safe this humanity and this new democracy, for which these heroes have suffered and died, so that their sacrifice and death may not have been in vain.

A PERNICIOUS PROPAGANDA

AN ADDRESS BY CHAS. H. CAHAN, K.C.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, March 27, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: Gentlemen, I attended a banquet in Montreal a short time ago when one speaker referred to Toronto as "Eatonville," and still another as "Hamilton Annex," and a third speaker—and if I mistake not, our distinguished guest of to-day—spoke of Toronto as the "Holy City." (Laughter.) Now, I was puzzled to know just what that meant, but last week, coming down-town, I met a friend, an architect. I asked him, "How is business?" He replied, "Why, it's fine." I said, "Good, how do you account for it." He replied, "It is better than it has been ever since war began. I have so many of those Montreal fellows coming up here asking for modern burglar-proof plans of cellars." (Great Laughter.) And he added, "Do you know the remarkable part about it is that they want them before the first of May this year!" (Laughter.) So you see just why Toronto is the Holy City. However, it is only history repeating itself as our good friend Judge Riddell, with his biblical knowledge would say that the wise men from the east

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Mr. Cahan is a native of Nova Scotia, and was at one time Leader of the Conservative Opposition in the Legislative Assembly of that Province. He is a graduate in Arts and in Law of Dalhousie University. He has had almost a world-wide experience in Corporation and Commercial affairs; but during the past ten years he has practiced his profession in the cities of Montreal and New York. At the last General Election he contested Maisonneuve Division of the City of Montreal as Unionist Candidate. From June, 1918, to February, 1919, he made an investigation of Enemy, Socialistic and Revolutionary Propaganda in Canada, and for some time acted as "Director of Public Safety."

journeyed to the west, and there got. . . . Well, you have had two announcements regarding our guest, gentlemen, and therefore you know that he is a distinguished member of the Montreal bar, has had a remarkably brilliant public career, has rendered Canada, during the war, yeoman service; he is an author on the subject on which he will address us, and he will give us first-hand facts, therefore I am sure we are going to have a very, very interesting address.

Mr. Cahan pleasantly introduced himself by disowning the authorship of the title "Holy City" as applied to Toronto, which he never felt to be such a Holy City. Aside from the badinage that passes between Montreal and Toronto, he thought there was sometimes a misapprehension in regard to the feeling and attitude in Montreal. (Hear, hear.) He assured Torontonians that there could not be found in the Province of Quebec one leading English or French-Canadian family, whether Protestant or Catholic, that was not giving the best of its sons as a sacrifice for the cause in this great war. (Applause.) He added that at the last Federal election he was a Unionist candidate, having given four boys of his family, all broken in the war, while his opponent, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, gave his only son, and no greater sacrifice could he have given. (Applause.) "For God's sake, for the sake of Canada, for the sake of our provinces, let us, on both sides, put aside our petty bickerings and banterings, and let us realize that the best of Canadians of every race and every religion, have given their heart's best treasures. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.) Early in May last I was asked by Sir Robert Borden to examine into propaganda carried on through Canada by certain foreign elements for the purpose, it was suspected, of weakening the efforts of the Canadian people in carrying on this war. I gave from May until January last to this investigation—three-fourths of it carried on entirely at my own expense." (Applause.)

Mr. Cahan then turned to the subject of his address as follows:

Those of you who have read the recent work of

Morganthau, recently United States Ambassador to Constantinople, dealing with political events at the Turkish Capital, during the early years of the war, will recollect the vivid portrait which he draws of Baron Von Wagenheim, the German Ambassador at the same capital. Baron Von Wagenheim was an intimate friend of the German Kaiser, and he formed one of the coterie who were summoned to Berlin in July, 1914, to confer with respect to the prosecution of the war, then already decided upon.

For several years, I knew him well, when he was German Minister to Mexico; and in frequent discussions he always insisted that if England ever became involved in a European war, Canada and the other Dominions would undoubtedly remain quiescent.

I have no doubt but that such was the opinion entertained in German political circles when war was decided upon; and even when the first Canadian contingent was sent overseas, though it was undoubtedly a surprise to the German Government, it was probably regarded as a spasmodic effort and of no real influence upon the result of the war.

But by the beginning of 1915, the German propaganda, which had then been very thoroughly organized in the United States of America, began to spread across our southern border and to influence certain classes of Canadian opinion. It was at first almost entirely pacifist and only mildly socialistic in its character, and made its influence chiefly felt among the alien population of Canada.

To assist in this propaganda, printing establishments for publishing pacifist, socialistic and revolutionary literature in Russian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Finnish and other foreign languages, were subsequently created in several Canadian cities, such as Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg; and book stores for the distribution of pacifist and socialistic books, pamphlets and leaflets in Ukrainian, Russian, Ruthenian, Finnish and other foreign languages sprang up as if by magic in various industrial centres in which these alien peoples were employed.

It was undoubtedly the propaganda of a foreign and hostile government carried on for the express purpose of creating in Canada domestic difficulties and general opposition to the active participation of Canada in the war. No such extensive propaganda had ever been carried on before, and the laws of Canada then in force were not sufficiently broad and explicit to deal with it effectively.

But during many years prior to the war, the seeds of industrial unrest had been sown in Canada by socialistic organizations, which included not only considerable numbers of unorganized workers, but also a radical and extreme element, though always a minority in the recognized Trades and Labor Unions.

It is undoubtedly a fact that this Socialistic propaganda is largely, directly or indirectly, of German origin.

In Germany itself, Socialism is based on the doctrines of Karl Marx, who published there in 1867, the first volume of "Capital," in which he enunciated that the power to work or labor is itself a commodity, which the laborer sells to the capitalist who employs him, under conditions whereby the surplus value produced by the laborer accrues to the capitalist alone.

The Socialism of Germany which was at first sternly repressed in that country, soon overspread its borders and pervaded France, England, Austria, Italy and Russia, becoming most revolutionary in its character in those countries in which autocratic governments then obtained; from these European countries it has reacted upon the polyglot peoples who inhabit the United States of America.

Their propaganda, which has been carried on for the past twenty years in the United States, by the International Socialists of that country, is organized by various associations known as The Socialist Party, The Socialist Labor Party, The Industrial Workers of the World, and the like; and, for several years prior to the outbreak of the war, these organizations had spread across the border into every industrial district of Canada.

Since 1890, the literature of International Socialism, composed chiefly of translations into English from German and other European writers, chiefly and essentially German, however, has been disseminated by the millions of copies from one end to the other of this continent.

The advocates of International Socialism assume that, under the conditions in which organized society now subsists, there is inevitably a state of war existing between the workers, or wage earning class, and the capitalists or profit-receiving class; that the wage earners are in a condition of industrial slavery, quite as oppressive as the system of human slavery which at one time or another has existed in almost every country of the world. Their rallying cry is: "Workers of the World Unite; You have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains, and a World to Gain." As an incentive to this organization as a class, they vividly portray all the evils that are associated with war, poverty, sickness and toil as directly resulting from the tyranny and oppression of the capitalists or property owning class; and thereby they seek to arouse, in the minds of the workers, a class consciousness, which finds its chief expression in envy and hatred of all who have acquired property of any kind whatsoever.

To remedy existing social evils, they propose to substitute for the existing industrial system, based on private ownership of capital, on individual enterprise and personal responsibility for the maintenance of the family, the collective ownership of all material instruments or means of production and distribution, public enterprise and social responsibility for the maintenance of all persons born into the world.

The Socialist recognizes no political or constitutional system of government, no political or State boundaries, no national objects or aims, no international rights or obligations, except the right and obligation of all members of the working class, of every race and language throughout the civilized world, to unite in a revolutionary movement which shall eradicate the existing political and social systems and establish a new social order, in which the collective social capital of the world shall be administered by the workers of the world for the benefit of the workers, and for no other existing classes or members of society.

Under the hoped-for Socialistic regime, the State, as we understand it, is to be abolished; and all factories, farms and mines, all railroads, steamships, telegraphs, cables, telephones, or other agencies of transportation and communication, all banks, or other financial institutions, mercantile establishments, or other agencies or means of carrying on trade and commerce, are to be owned and operated by a co-operative commonwealth, in which the workers shall alone participate, and under which the former members of the Capitalistic class, stripped of their property rights, shall again become workers, or be extinguished by starvation.

As a recent critic not unfairly states the Socialistic program: "They would appropriate the world and all that it contains for their own class, and let the Devil take the rest of us."

They also claim to establish an international comradeship; to have a monopoly of the brotherhood of man, which recognizes no existing state and no national boundaries. They plan, in the meantime until all national governments are overthrown, to establish their inner government within the national government, and to arrange that their inner government shall hold international relationships with similarly constituted inner governments in all other countries, and thereby consider, discuss and decide all so-called international questions.

It is on this basis that the Socialists of Russia, or of Germany, have proposed to negotiate with the Socialists of England or of France, as to the terms on which all international strife shall be adjusted and settled; in fact, as to the terms on which peace shall now be established.

So soon as Great Britain entered into the war with France against Germany, the Socialists of the United States of America, who had obtained their literature and derived their inspiration chiefly from German sources, increased their activities with the twofold object of hindering Great Britain and France in the prosecution of the war, and of preventing the participation of the United

States in the war on the side of the Allied Governments.

Although their philosophy, and teachings, and, in fact, all Socialistic activities, are based on the alleged existence of a state of war, within the country, between the wage earning and the capitalistic classes, they immediately manifested extreme pacifist tendencies, and sought by every means in their power to paralyze the efforts of the Allied Nations in carrying on the war; and naturally their own activities, encouraged and assisted by German agents and German money in the United States, were at once extended into Canada, where their propaganda has been conducted, more or less secretly, with an energy and vehemence that was for a long time not even suspected by the Government nor by the people of this country, who, inspired by their recognition of the vital interests at stake, have sought to utilize to the uttermost our national resources in order to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

In Canada, the Socialists have organized chiefly under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World, of the Socialist Party of Canada, with headquarters in Vancouver, and of the Social Democratic Party, with headquarters at Toronto, and with branches in nearly every industrial centre from Montreal, through a chain of Ontario towns to the Sudbury and Porcupine mining districts, in Fort William and Port Arthur at the head of lake navigation, into Manitoba, and through other similar associations into the Prairie Provinces and into British Columbia.

In several instances this propaganda has been endorsed by branches of Internationalist Trades Unions established in Canada; though the recognized leaders of the Trades Unions of Canada, such, for instance, as Tom Moore, who is one of the sanest and most patriotic leaders in the Trades Union movement, have vehemently opposed all radical and revolutionary tendencies.

More recently, so-called Political Defense Leagues have been formed in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and elsewhere, which are avowedly radical and revolutionary.

During the past year, while making personal investigations of the extent of this propaganda, I found upwards of sixty branches of the Social Democratic Party of Toronto established among the Finnish settlers in Canada, and an even larger number among the Ukrainian settlers, with lesser numbers among other foreign elements of our population.

I have in my possession lists recently compiled from the returns of the Canada Registration Board, giving the names and addresses of 63,784 Russians of the age of sixteen years and over, now resident in Canada. Of these about 11,000 are resident in the city of Montreal, 10,000 in the city of Toronto, 2,000 in the city of Hamilton, and about 3,000 elsewhere in towns of Ontario.

In Manitoba, there are 10,300, Saskatchewan 16,650; and in Alberta, 6,500, but there are comparatively few in the Maritime Provinces.

Of the Austro-Hungarians about 70,000 registered as enemy aliens; the cities of Montreal and Winnipeg containing the largest numbers.

There are comparatively few who are not affected by this propaganda, carried on in Canada in their native languages.

But, lest you may be misled by a statement of these facts, I wish to say that the brains of the entire movement, in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary, Vancouver, Victoria and elsewhere in Canada, are largely English, Irish and Canadian; and that although in the city of Montreal there are probably fifteen to twenty thousand adherents of radical Socialistic Associations, the French and Catholic population of the Province of Quebec has never been innoculated with this virus.

The office of the *Canadian Forward,* in Toronto, which has been the chief organ of the Social Democratic Party, was during the first years of the war one of the most active agents for the publication and distribution of radical literature printed in the English language; and the editor probably has had the largest personal following of any single individual engaged in this propaganda among English speaking workers in Canada.

But in addition to the Canadian sources of propaganda, the Industrial Workers of the World, which was organized in the United States in 1905, and the Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party of the United States, have recently deluged this country with their publications.

The membership of the Industrial Workers of the World, I.W.W., as it is familiarly called, is limited to wage earners; no member of the military, naval or police services is eligible for membership. This organization has twelve weekly and two bi-weekly publications; in English three, and one each in French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Polish, Slavish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Swedish and Jewish; and there are also affiliated with the organization a Spanish, an Italian and a Russian weekly and a Finnish daily paper. It issues scores of booklets, pamphlets and leaflets, which are distributed throughout the entire country disseminating its teachings and advocating its doctrines.

It recognizes no laws which the organization is bound to observe. It advocates the solidarity of the working class, and insists upon resistance and revolt as the approved methods of attaining its declared purposes. It is opposed to wage agreements between employers and employees. "There is only one bargain," declares the I.W.W., "that we will make with the employing class: Complete surrender of all control of industry to the organized workers." No committees of workmen are permitted to meet committees of employers. Its unions adopt wage scales and post them on bulletins, and for them, these bulletins are the law. "We look forward," says the I.W.W., "to the time when the organized proletariat will meet in their union the world over, and decide how long they will work, and how much of the wealth they will give to the boss." It boldly proclaims that it is a government within a government, a law unto itself. For every striker killed by the military or police forces, it demands a life for a life. At a strike of the employees of the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rock, Pennsylvania, fifty strikers were killed; in retaliation the I.W.W. killed fifty police, and wounded fifty others.

Pamphlets have been published by the I.W.W. and circulated in Canada, advocating the "general strike" as one of the most effective weapons in the hands of the workers. There are three phases of a "General Strike," says William D. Haywood, the Chief Executive of the I.W.W., in his work on this subject, viz.:

"A general strike in an industry;
"A general strike in a community; or
"A general national strike.

He says: "I believe that we can agree that we should unite in a great organization—big enough to take in the children that are working; big enough to take in the black man, the white man; big enough to take in all nationalities—an organization that will be strong enough to obliterate State boundaries, to obliterate national boundaries, and one that will become the great industrial force of the working class of the world."

He advocates an organization, and such is the aim of the I.W.W., as will include all producers, all employees of railroads and other means of transportation, and in fact, of every branch of industry, such as will enable the workers, of all classes and conditions, to paralyze all the activities of the nation and of every nation by merely ceasing to work, until such times as their demands are fully and effectually conceded.

"That," he says, "is what I want to urge upon the working class; to become so organized on the economic field that they can take and hold the industries in which they are employed. Can you conceive of such a thing? Is it possible? What are the forces that prevent you from doing so? You have all the industries in your own hands at the present time. There is this justification for political action, and that is, to control the forces of the capitalists that they use against us; to be in a position to control the power of Government so as to make the work of the army ineffective, so as to abolish totally the secret service and the force of detectives. . . . So the general strike is a fighting weapon as well as a constructive weapon."

But not only does the I.W.W. advocate the general strike, and the use of "direct action" or force, but it and other agencies have circulated throughout Canada, pamphlets advocating the employment of "sabotage," and instructing workmen in the various ways that sabotage can be employed, from its milder forms of "Slowing down upon the Job," to its more violent forms of destruction of the machinery of production.

The works circulated in this country include those of Emile Pouget, Walker C. Smith, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and others.

"I am not going to justify sabotage on moral grounds," writes Miss Flynn. "If workers consider that sabotage is necessary, that in itself makes sabotage moral. Its necessity is its excuse for its existence. And for us to discuss the morality of sabotage would be as absurd as to discuss the morality of the strike or the morality of the class struggle itself. In order to understand sabotage or to accept it at all it is necessary to accept the concept of the class struggle. . . . Sabotage is to this class struggle what guerilla warfare is to the battle. The strike is the open battle of the class struggle; Sabotage is the guerilla warfare, the day by day warfare between two opposing classes."

I may add a few excerpts from the work of Walker C. Smith:

"For poor wages—bad work."

"Working Class Sabotage is right because it aids the workers."

"Sabotage is a direct application of the idea that property has no rights that its creators are bound to respect."

"Why expect those who have no stake in society, as it is now constituted, to continue to contribute to its support?"

"The question is not, Is sabotage immoral?—but, Does Sabotage get the Goods?"

"You are destroying civilization is likewise hurled against us, to which we reply in the language of the street: We Should Worry! Civilization is a lie. A civilization that is builded upon the bended backs of toiling babes; a civilization that is reared upon the sweating, starving, struggling mass of mankind; a civilization whose very existence depends upon a constant army of hungry, servile and law-abiding unemployed, is scarcely worthy of consideration at the hands of those whom it has so brutally outraged. The saboteur carries on his work in order to hasten the day of working class victory, when for the first time in human history, we shall have a civilization that is worthy of the name."

"Law is a thing in which the wage slaves play no part, but industry is the place where the employers are impotent when the workers decide to act."

"Every toiler in the industries has sabotage at his command. Let the masters know that henceforth they must deal with industrial mutiny. Labor produces all wealth —all wealth belongs to labor."

"For Sabotage or slavery—which?"

The works mentioned contain illustrative examples of many forms of sabotage; slowing up work, while keeping on the job; putting preparations in steam boilers to prevent their efficient operation; sand and emery dust in machinery to make it slow down or cease running. Sabotage they term "Labor's Winning Weapon," "Putting the machinery on strike," "Letting the gold dust twins, do the work," referring to the use of emery dust or fine sand in machinery, to impede or to prevent its operation.

"In case of wars," writes Smith, "which every intelligent worker knows are wholesale murders of workers to enrich the master class, there is no weapon so forceful to defeat the employers as sabotage by the rebellious workers in the two warring countries. *Sabotage will put a stop to war and revolutions; parliamentary appeals and even a call for general refusal to serve are impotent.* But, as stated before, sabotage is but one phase of the question. Anti-military and anti-patriotic agitation must also be carried on."

The I.W.W. had been quite active in Canada prior to the outbreak of the war; but no sooner was war declared than its anti-military agitation, both in the United States and Canada, became more violent and reactionary. It sought to prevent the sending of supplies from the United States to the Allies. It attempted, through agitation among the farm laborers of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, to prevent the harvesting of grain crops. It organized the lumber camps to limit the output of timber required for aeroplane construction. For a time, it practically paralyzed the production of lead, copper, zinc, and other basic metals required in the production of munitions of war. The circulation of its literature vastly increased its membership, which reached its zenith just after the United States entered the war.

In Canada the I.W.W. has been active in the lumber camps and mining districts, and particularly so in Northern Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia.

In September, 1917, some 166 members of the I.W.W. were indicted in the United States District Court of Chicago, Illinois; among them were twenty-nine Englishmen and two Canadians. Of these ninety-five were found guilty in August last. The two Canadians, Herbert Mahler and Archie Sinclair, were both convicted; the former being sentenced to imprisonment for five years and fined $25,000.00; the latter to imprisonment for ten years and fined $35,000.00. Of the Englishmen convicted, James Rowan, who, in 1914, was Secretary of Local No. 82 of the I.W.W. at Edmonton, was sentenced to imprisonment for twenty years and fined $20,000; and George Hardy, who formerly resided in British Columbia, was sentenced to imprisonment for a year and a day and fined $30,000. But no such vigorous enforcement of law has been authorized or permitted in this country.

More recently, I.W.W. and Socialistic agitators have, under the Espionage Act, been indicted in other parts of the United States; and recently the United States Congress enacted a law under which alien agitators of this class may be summarily expelled from the country. Other stern measures have recently been taken in Seattle, in Buffalo, in Philadelphia, in New York and elsewhere, to eradicate the most vicious forms of this propaganda.

No sooner had Kerensky been raised to power at Petrograd, in May 1917, than the Socialistic agitators and I.W.W. workers in the United States flocked back to Russia, and profiting by the experience in organization which they gained in the United States, they soon assumed direction and control of the Bolshevik movement. Trotzky, Shatoff, Martoff, Volodarski and other leaders from the United States became members of the Council of the People's Commissars, at Petrograd and at Moscow, and have become the most forceful dictators of destruction.

The leaders of the Red Guard, or the revolutionary movement in Finland, were chiefly recruited from the I.W.W. organizations of the United States and Canada; and thousands of dollars have been contributed from the United States and Canada to support this revolutionary movement in Finland.

Publications of Lenine and other Russian propagandists have been circulated almost as widely in Canada as in Russia itself. Pamphlets in foreign languages which have circulated notably among the Finns of Canada, contain not only obscene and irreligious, but seditious and disloyal matter, unfit for publication.

During the past year, large sums of money have been sent from Russia and even from Finland for carrying on this propaganda in the United States and in Canada. I have personally conversed at length with one of the most active foreign leaders of the Bolsheviki propaganda in Canada; and I found him one of the adroit and subtle men that I have ever met.

All these radical elements are now associated for the purpose of creating in the industrial districts of Canada, and even in some of the agricultural districts of the North Western Provinces, a spirit of dissatisfaction with the economic and political conditions under which we now live. It would be easy to exaggerate the importance of the facts which I have presented. The majority of the people of Canada are not likely to be contaminated by these vicious doctrines; although the extent to which the milder forms of Socialism permeate our social life was recently disclosed by a resolution adopted almost unanimously by the Methodist Church Conference at Hamilton, committing that large and representative body to what it in express terms declared to be "nothing less than social revolution."

REMEDIES

There are certain remedies for existing conditions which I would like to suggest.

First, we must revert to the reign of law in this country. At present laws almost innumerable appear upon the Statute books, laws enacted by the several Provincial Legislatures, laws enacted by the Federal Parliament, and last, but not least, laws enacted by the Government sitting in Council.

But many of these laws remain as dead letters; they are never enforced; and the country is sadly deficient in the means for securing their enforcement until now the laws of the country are often treated with more or less of indifference and contempt.

The criminal laws of Canada are within the legislative jurisdiction of the Parliament of Canada; and the parliament that enacts such laws is in duty bound to provide effective means for their enforcement, or else it should obliterate them from the Statute books, and not permit them longer to remain as objects of disdain and ridicule.

This is a democratic country, in which the majority rule. There is no law upon the Statute books of Canada, which cannot be repealed by the will of the majority expressed at the polls. In so far as this propaganda exercises force and violence, in so far as it advocates the use of force or violence to obtain political or economic reforms, it should be suppressed by the enactment of criminal laws by the Federal Parliament, and by the judicious enforcement of those laws by the Government representing the parliament which enacts them.

The efforts of the Federal Government of the country to escape the responsibility of enforcing its own laws by open or covert attempts to place such responsibility upon the provincial and municipal authorities, can only result in bringing federal laws into deserved contempt.

I do not advocate arbitrary punishment of offenders for mere technical offenses, or for alleged offenses in which criminal intent is assumed. Discretion can be exercised most freely and justifiably by the Government representing the parliament or legislature by which the offenses are created.

But the vicious policy of reprieving offenders, at the dictation of or in response to threats of strikes or violence expressed by any class or association of citizens, inevitably tends toward anarchy.

Capital and labor have vast interests in common; and, no difficulties can arise between them that cannot be solved, in a manner reasonably satisfactory to all, by careful study and investigation, and by our constant application of the golden rule of doing unto others as we would have others do unto us. Those who teach others that there is in the very nature of things an inevitable and never ending conflict between capital and labor, and who advocate the use of physical force and violence to accomplish political or economic ends, are precipitating a civil war which can only result in the destruction of the foundations upon which our individual liberties and democratic institutions have been slowly but surely established. Their propaganda must be met by the removal of real grievances, by providing instruction and education with respect to basic economic laws; and, so far as their activities are criminal, by the firm and impartial enforcement of the law.

For years the industrial workers of Canada have been fed upon diet of economic fallacies, expressed in hundreds of thousands of pamphlets and leaflets scattered widespread throughout the country, which could not have had such disastrous effect if the educational institutions of the country and the public press had informed our people of the simple elements of economic laws. The President of the National City Bank, of New York, recently referred to the people of that country as a Nation of Economic Illiterates; and the remark applies equally to the people of Canada. The remedy for ignorance is accurate information and education. That the basis of National prosperity is Production, is an elementary truth. The gross production of Canada must be sufficient to house, clothe and feed and otherwise maintain its people, to provide the cost of federal, provincial and municipal governments, to provide more than a mere living wage for labor, and to yield such return to capital as will ensure its continuously increasing investment in the industries of the country. There is need of an intelligently directed educational propaganda to convince a large body of workers in Canada that capital and directing ability and inventive genius are as necessary as labor itself, to provide a surplus of production out of which labor may receive a larger share in the form of increased wages.

In carrying on the war, we have increased our national debt to nearly two billion dollars; and the result is well worth the immense sacrifice. But to carry the burden of the present and prospective war debt, to provide a surplus out of which high wages may be maintained and invested capital suitably rewarded, every healthy man and woman in Canada must put forth increased and intelligently directed energy. Our national resources, and particularly our coal mines and water powers must be utilized as never before. Steam power and electric power, improved machinery, and more expeditious processes and methods, must be utilized to enable each worker to produce at least twice as much as he ever produced before. We have enormous national wealth, which must be rapidly transformed into saleable commodities in such volume as will insure the prosperity of every worker in the country. We must depend upon individual effort; we cannot depend upon the Government, since all governments seem necessarily doomed to inevitable and permanent inefficiency.

We must eliminate waste, waste in national expenditure, waste in industry, the waste of families and individuals. Our accumulated wealth is what we save out of what we produce. We cannot obtain financial prosperity by juggling with the currency, employing engravers and a printing press to manufacture legal tenders, or by piling up book-entries of inflated credit. Our prosperity in the final analysis depends upon the people of Canada having a surplus of income over expenditure, of production over consumption.

The theory of a restricted output is a lie; and if followed, must inevitably result in poverty and misery. If Labor, thinking only of the fair distribution of the prospective surplus, retards an increase of the present production, its wages will inevitably suffer permanent and disastrous reduction both in nominal amount and in real purchasing power.

During these coming years, you men of wealth, or of considerable income, must discard all luxuries. Every dollar which you spend on an article of luxury increases the price to the poor of articles of necessity. I have no envy or jealousy of those who by their industry and intelligently directed activity made profits out of the war. The bulk of the profits made in industry were probably a legitimate return for the capital invested and the risk incurred. There are probably some exceptions, but if profits were excessive it was the duty of the Government to confiscate them for the general benefit by imposing suitable taxation on such excess profits.

But I do denounce those who made profits and expend their profits upon luxury. Capital arises solely out of savings. Capital is indispensable for the increased and cheaper production of the necessaries of life. Expenditure upon luxuries is an economic waste of capital. The extravagance of the rich increases the poverty of the poor. On the other hand, sensible spending upon actual necessaries increases the production of necessaries, cheapens the price of necessaries, and ensures good wages to the producers of necessaries. The importation and domestic manufacture of luxuries should be restricted; and every dollar of savings should be invested in reproductive machinery. Only in this way can we ensure prosperity. We should keep constantly before us the precept that spending upon luxuries is one way of grinding the faces of the poor.

For several years we nust rely less than ever before the war upon importations of capital from abroad. Probably one-fifth of the accumulated capital of the combatant countries has been depleted by the war; and the life-time of a generation is necessary to replenish the losses. Yet, in Canada, on the average, for every 100,000 of increase in our population, we require an increased investment of at least $50,000,000 of capital to furnish them with constant employment at living wages.

Moreover, sound finance is the only foundation for sound political policy; and yet it seems impossible in a democracy to obtain wise and efficient government. Socialism will only justify its program upon the arrival of the millenium, when an ideal government rules an ideal people; for a century or two we must deal practically with actually existing conditions.

But all the industry, activity and economy of the individual citizen are of slight avail, if the Government in time of peace continues to deplete the country's accumulations of capital to provide expenditures upon public works and services which have no re-productive value. The diversion of capital to unproductive uses inevitably reacts injuriously upon the wage earners of the country. Money is bound to be dear for a long time to come; and all national expenditures must be restricted to those absolutely unavoidable. The extravagance of war finance is notorious; but, in addition to this we have increased our financial difficulties by diluting unnecessarily the legal tender currency of the country, thereby decreasing the purchasing power of the wages, salaries and limited incomes of a large number of our people; or, in other words, we have thereby inflated the prices of all commodities vitally necessary to support human life.

Is it any wonder that the worker complains when he is told, and truthfully told, that a very considerable portion of the increase in the prices of his vital necessities is due to the fact that a somewhat inefficient Government, struggling with a task beyond its powers, adopting a weak and inffective rather than a strong and courageous financial policy, has been using the engraver and the printing press to manufacture its funds and pay its obligations rather than resort to the taxation of those well able to pay; or even rather than borrow from the well-to-do on the promise that to the extent of their loans they would be relieved for many years of their proper share of taxation by the imposition of heavier burdens upon those less able to bear them? It is no use now crying over split milk. Nevertheless, existing evils must be remedied; and a depreciated currency implies an increase in the cost of living, and the imposition of increased burdens upon the pockets of the poor. Labor unrest can only be relieved by a square deal in Government finance and taxation, as well as a square deal in industry.

The new national spirit must be more self-reliant and more energetic. We must attain a national consciousness, so clear in vision and so productive in joint endeavor that class consciousness will be entirely obliterated. Each must contribute his own special skill to increase the production and thereby the prosperity of the whole people. The increase of taxation necessary to carry our national debt will tend to reduce the surplus available for distribution. But a just distribution between Capital and Labor must be made of the actual surplus; and the habits of economy and saving which will be forced upon us by after-war conditions, will ensure accretions of capital which, if properly applied, will furnish ample employment for our people at fair and equitable remuneration.

There are other evils which exist and which call for a remedy—festering, irritating evils, of which Socialism bitterly complains; there are other evils which create, in Canada, a fertile field for Socialistic propaganda, of which Socialism does not complain; for all of which the State must provide efficient remedies. Dealing with the last class first, there is the evil of the indiscriminate admission to Canada of foreign immigrants, without making adequate provision for the instruction and education of these polyglot peoples, so that they may become acquainted with the political and social conditions of the country, and be inspired by our ideals of individual liberty and individual responsibility.

With those who, upon our invitation, have already settled in Canada, we must deal honorably and justly. They have performed highly necessary work during the war; they should be protected from all semblance of injustice now that the war has ceased.

Schools must be provided, and the children of the foreign immigrant should be compelled to attend schools in which French or English is taught, so that the native born of foreign stock, at the close of at least one generation, shall have a practical knowledge of one of the official languages of the country, and thereby be enabled to acquire a clearer and less distorted insight into the social, political, and industrial conditions which prevail in this country.

A fair acquaintance with either the English or French language should be made a condition precedent to full Canadian naturalization and to the right to exercise the political franchise in any Province of Canada.

But especially the labor question demands serious consideration. Experience has proved that the exercise, by the employees of industrial establishments, of the right of association and organization for the purpose of representing their grievances and presenting their claims for improved working conditions, rates of remuneration and the like, is, under existing industrial conditions, the only efficient means of securing public recognition of existing grievances and their effectual remedy. Such labor associations, whether representing individual trades, or those which are inter-related or allied, should be encouraged rather than repressed.

But their international relations and alliances should be restricted. If Canada is to develop as a nation, and as a nation it must develop, if at all, the administration of the political affairs of the country, whether internal or external, can only safely be vested in the elected representatives of the whole people. Neither the Labor group, the Socialist group, nor any other minority group within the nation, can be permitted to dominate the Government of the country, nor to form alliances with a similar, inner group in any foreign country, for the purpose of thwarting any policy of the Government of Canada which expresses the will of the majority of the people of Canada. The teaching of these times is that internationalism, as it appears in the socialistic movement of the day, is inimicable to the material interests of the Canadian people; that it is destructive of the spirit of patriotism which is essential to the establishment and maintenance of a democratic government in this or any other country; and that it inevitably leads to national disruption and to political anarchy. The international relations of Canadian labor or socialistic associations must be carefully watched and closely restricted.

And while free associations of workers of all classes within Canada should not only be permitted but actively encouraged, no such association should be allowed to trespass upon the rights of the individual worker and to exclude him from employment, except on condition that he shall become a member of some particular associaton or union. It cannot be tolerated that any free association of men in Canada shall arbitrarily and despotically deprive any individual of his right to earn an honest living in Canada for himself or his family in any employment for which he may be qualified, simply because he refuses to become a member of any particular trades-union or labor association.

Moreover, in respect of all grievances, real or imaginary, existing or alleged to exist between employees and their employer, it is absolutely essential that means should be created and maintained for securing a competent and thorough investigation of the facts, and an impartial arbitration or determination of the dispute.

I believe that it is certainly possible to obtain such an investigation and such a decision with respect to every condition of employment, whether it be hours of labor, rates of wages, costs of living, proper protection of health and life, or whatever may be the subject matter of the grievance expressed; and I can see no reason why such decisions should not ultimately command public respect and be enforced by public authority.

Individual workmen have the right, and, under existing conditions, must have the right definitely to abandon their employment, upon notice, except in breach of the contracts of employment into which they have freely entered. Breaches of contracts are matters within the jurisdiction of the law courts of the country.

But the conditions on which labor shall be employed demand more serious scientific investigation than has yet been provided. There must be investigation, by impartial experts, to establish the principles upon which rates of wages shall be established from time to time. A new jurisprudence must be developed for the guidance of the arbitration boards, or other judicial authorities to which such disputes shall be submitted for settlement. The doctrine that the workman is entitled to a living wage has become obsolete. He is entitled to that *plus;* and it is possible that the *plus* may best be determined as a portion or percentage of the profits which accrues to the employer, in part, at least, as the result of the work of his employees.

Strikes and lock-outs are both harmful to the interests of the State, as well as to the individuals immediately and directly concerned. If and when the State shall establish the just principles upon which labor disputes shall be decided, and impartial tribunals to investigate the facts and to render decisions in accordance with such pre-established principles of justice, as I have suggested, then both strikes and lock-outs should be prohibited by law, and offenders against this law should, in the interests of the whole nation, be subjected to severe penalties and punishments.

And in like manner, "striking on the job" which implies slowing down production, destruction of the machinery of production or injuring the articles produced, these and all other forms of sabotage should be absolutely prohibited, and included in the criminal offences for which severe penalties should be enacted.

But such proposals, which imply substantial reforms in our legal system, are not alone sufficient. Other reforms are vital to the success of our political and social system.

The health of the soldiers who enlisted for service in the present war has been made the supreme care of the State. The same care should be continued with respect to the health of the entire population. Free medical advice and medical attendance should be made available for every member of society; and free hospital service for all who require nursing and attendance as a means of restoration to health. The nation can well appropriate sufficient funds to eradicate tuberculosis, typhoid, pneumonia, syphilis, and all other preventable diseases, which in each and every generation claim more victims than war itself.

The Government must establish healthful conditions of living in Canada, even if additional taxes be levied upon industry for the attainment of that end.

The housing of the people in families, under conditions which ensure health and a certain degree of comfort and of intimate family life, is also a supreme concern of the State. The hovels which germinate and disseminate disease and death must be wiped out; and since private funds do not seek investment, in sufficient amounts, to provide homes for all, the State must intervene and supply the deficiencies. Work of this kind cannot be left to sympathy and the good offices of the philanthropists. Every Canadian child born into life has the right to such careful medical supervision, to such sanitary surroundings, and to such home comforts, as will best ensure his reaching a vigorous manhood, and acquiring such qualities of mind and heart as are necessary for performing the duties of Canadian citizenship.

Moreover, reforms or improvements are necessary in our educational systems. We are very backward in much of our educational work. Improvements in our educational system, especially in branches which must be provided to give special technical training, such as agriculture, mining, metallurgy, chemistry, engineering and the like, in all their practical applications, will cost money and require time to bring them to a high standard. But the demand must be met, and the money provided by the State and not left to the precarious generosity of individual contributors.

CONCLUSION

In the short time at my disposal, I have endeavored to give you an idea of the milder forms of the propaganda, which has covertly been carried on throughout Canada, with the evident object of weakening the will of the Canadian people to carry on the war to a successful conclusion, and, more recently, to create difficulties and dissensions within Canada so as to hinder the attainment of a satisfactory peace. I say milder forms of propaganda advisedly; for, if I were to quote at length the quantities of obscene, profane and seditious pamphlets which have been circulated throughout Canada by the Social Revolutionists, it would only serve to excite your bitter animosity, and perhaps lay myself open to the charge of disseminating sedition, though merely repeating it for your information. Tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent in Canada during the war in support of this propaganda, and these expenditures will no doubt be continued with the same object until peace is finally proclaimed, and then, the seeds of revolt having been sown, the country will for a long time reap harvests of discord and discontent, unless preventative measures are now taken.

It is your duty and mine to study the existing conditions, to ascertain the facts, to make known the elements of economic laws, to assist in remedying all reasonable grievances, to ensure as far as we may that the social and industrial progress of Canada shall be based on the due recognition of the rights of all its citizens. Orderly progressive evolution will ensure security and prosperity for all; revolution will inevitably result in the wanton destruction of the very foundations of our national life. We are even now experiencing the ardently desired transition from the activities of war to the activities of peace, a change which will undoubtedly cause great anxiety and acute distress for thousands of war-wearied men returning home from the front, and for thousands more who, at home, have carried on the industries necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, all of whom must now seek other avocations and adjust themselves to new conditions of life. Their problems are not theirs alone; they are mine and yours as well; and it is only by mutual understanding and sympathy, by cordial co-operation and an abundance of good-will, that these problems can successfully be solved.

THE ENDURING GREATNESS OF NEWER NATIONS

AN ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT CHAS. F. THWING, D.D., LL.D., LITT.D., OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, CLEVELAND.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, April 3, 1919.

PRESIDENT THWING: Gentlemen, I feel myself at home, for we have joined our hearts and voices in singing different hymns ("God Save the King" and "My Country 'Tis of Thee") each of them to the same tune. Be it also said I never put my feet on British soil without a thrill in my heart. For my only son wears the British uniform, and is a captain in the Coldstream Guards. (Applause.) This son of the Puritan Pilgrims, who for a time was at Oxford in New College, was four years ago made a British citizen and then entered the war. (Applause.) I feel myself at home also because of the subject I have chosen. For Canada and the country south of Canada are newer nations, measured either by the centurial existence of our old British Empire, or by the length of existence of an Empire Republic like China. Both these

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President Thwing is well-known as one of the outstanding authorities on education on the American Continent. Born at New Sharon, Maine, in 1853, he graduated from Harvard University in 1876, and became President of Adelbert College and Western Reserve University in 1890. He has travelled extensively, having visited China, Japan and India, studying colleges and universities. Among his well-known and widely read publications are:—

"The Reading of Books." "Within College Walls." "College Administration." "History of Higher Education in America." "Education in the Far East." "College Training and The Business Man." "Letters from a Father to His Son Entering College."

nations on this side of the globe are among the newer creations of Providence and of humanity. To-day, as citizens of humanity, and of this new English-speaking race, we thoughtful men become exceeding thoughtful and serious, and at times anxious regarding our future. You and I for the time being, and perhaps permanently, living under different administrations, yet having the same great visions and common elements, have a right and perhaps a duty to reflect upon such a fundamental consideration as the perpetuity of our Commonwealth. I believe this great Imperial Republic of Canada and this great Republic south of the lakes, are to endure. To the reasons for this belief I shall ask your attention.

The first reason that I give for my belief in the enduring greatness of newer nations is this—the comparative equality in the distribution of wealth. Wherever you find land distributed with a certain degree of equality you find in that equality of distribution a mighty force making for the peace of the hearts of men, and for their contentment with government. Land-hunger seems to be a passion of man. He came into this world of the *earth,* and finally his ashes are to form a part of the earth also. Between the cradle and the grave this hunger is insistent. Whereever you find, as you find in Russia, vast prairies given in their vastness to a few individual holders, and smaller parts—in some cases very small—given to a great number of people, under this instinct of land hunger you find actual or potential rebellion. And also where you find the wealth of the country personal, as in stocks and bonds and similar securities, locked and focalized in a few people, you find also that same spirit of rebelliousness. Wherever you find small holdings of land among many peoples, wherever you find the savings banks represented by hundreds of thousands or millions of holders, you find a force that has a stake for the perpetuity of that people and of their government. (Applause.)

A second reason for that belief lies in what I may call the mobility or fluidity of public judgment and sentiment. The government of a people that is stratified and solidified, upon receiving a blow from the exterior, is liable to go to pieces. Give and take is the proper method. The law of life represents the method also. The science of biology and not the science of physics is the proper metaphor and token. Mr. Emerson, I recall, once said near the close of his life that he was almost surprised to find himself living until this advanced age, for he said "In the earlier time I was the sickly member of the family." Mr. Emerson had a brother Charles who was regarded in the earlier years of as promising a mind as Ralph Waldo. Charles died years ago, this man of robust constitution. Emerson himself said, "I think that my very feebleness is the cause of my long life, for when the hard blow of disease struck my vigorous brother Charles he had not power to receive it, and fell, while I feebly bowed like the willow to the gust, and survived." I often think that one cause of that vast continent of Asia maintaining its essential existence for these numberless centuries has been,

"Its power to bow before the blast
And to keep bowed till the blast was past."

Alexander and all the conquerors have melted away on the sands of the great rivers and the rocks of the Himalayas.

The third reason for this belief lies in the method that I shall call a high ideal of administrative justice. Man has an instinct for justice both in demanding it for himself and in giving it to others. The child feels it. If a child thinks himself less loved by his parents than his brother or sister he feels himself wronged. If any citizen thinks himself treated less fairly than his neighbor he himself sows in his soul the seed of rebellion. This keen sense of equal justice is a force in the government of peoples. For us newer nations I believe that this sense is regnant. We sometimes say, south of the line, and I have heard it also in London, "Yes, yes, the Englishman is a brute, but he is a just brute." (Laughter.) I have been in India, and I know very well that justice, not only by common repute but in the narrow way of observation, the justice of the government of India to manifold tribes and many languages by a hundred thousand Britishers is one of the marvels of the last century and of the present. The Anglo-Saxon is a just man. He is mistaken at times, of course; his intellect does not give a proper verdict on the evidence; but he tries to see facts first, and to reason upon them as God reasons. The nation my friends that administers its affairs with that high ideal of absolute justice has a good constitution for a lasting future. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

I also want to say that in the enduring greatness of a people, new or old indeed, I believe that a just and proper union of great leadership and of personal integrity is a highly promotive force. The English people, the English government, and the government of the United States of America have at times had great leadership. The great leadership is called out by great issues and momentous occasions. The greatest leadership that the republic to the south had was in the few years following the close of what is called the Revolutionary War, when Washington and Hamilton and Jefferson were in the saddle, and also in the generation of thirty years preceding the outbreak of the civil war. There was great leadership in that time, both on the Confederate and the Federal side. Sumner and Webster are names that will live as long as the stars shine or the Great Lakes reflect the morning sun. The names also of Calhoun and of Henry Clay are among the precious possessions of the re-united American Republic. It is not my right to speak of English history as I have a right possibly to speak of American, but I suppose you would all say that England never had greater men as prime ministers than Peel and Palmerston and Gladstone. Great leadership they gave in those critical years that preceded the birthtime of some of us. I ask myself whether in the republic of the south or in any state, imperial or democratic, there is equally great leadership to-day.

I said, did I not, that there must be a proper union of wise and worthy guidance with the integrity of the community? After all, the enduring power of a people rests back upon the character of the individual citizen. If he be unworthy, the consequent community is also unworthy; if he be a man of instructed vision, pure, high-minded, without visionariness; if he be a man of a heart of love and of sympathy with all men, the higher and the lower, the fallen and the great; if he be a man of a conscience, keen, alert, sensitive; if he be a man of a will, whose strength is great and whose guidance by the intellect is equally great, the whole communal body is consequently large of mind, pure of heart, keen of conscience and strong of will. When you unite a people of that character with great leaders, perpetuity is as thoroughly assured as any existence can be in this world of change. (Applause.) But if you have great leadership with a corrupt community, there is no escape over the Red Sea. Or if you have a pure and noble community without great leadership, the community flounders in the nearer depths of the Red Sea, the waters of the gulf that is not to be passed overwhelming them in lasting disgrace and death. (Applause.)

I rejoice, my friends, in this common brotherhood that you and I represent, that there is great leadership and a great character joined together in all the pleasant years that are ours, and in the future years that await our children.

There is a further element, I think, that ensures the enduring greatness of a newer nation, in what I may call the principle or the sentiment of the glory of the imperfect. The newer nation, because it is new, is imperfect, and greatness at once recognizes its imperfection. Under such a recognition, it is safe. Whenever it is given in either newness or maturity, to believe that it has touched the heights of wisdom, and attained unto worthy and perfected strength,—that its theories are sound and its practice wise and true and right,—there and then arises ground for doubt. My friends tell me there is a theory of the existence of God, that God is not, so to speak, a product with attributes unchanged and changeless, but rather a process going forth into all humanity, which represents what we may call the rest of infinite motion. Whether true or not in point of theology, there is, I think, a true phase of this conception in the realm of government. So long as we think that we are not perfect, but we are aiming at perfection; that present government is inadequate, but that we are seeking to find a less inadequate method and result; so long we are safe and assured of the future.

Canada is new. The United States is new. South of the line we feel ourselves exceedingly imperfect and inadequate; but judging by your papers that I have read this morning, at least some people in Canada also think they are a little imperfect. (Laughter.) So long as that can be our mood, so long we shall go forth conquering and to conquer, not with Prussian strength, but with Anglo-Saxon justice. (Applause.)

I am conscious, my friends and brothers, of the honor that I have enjoyed through your graciousness, through the happiness that is mine in standing again on British soil. As I close I want to say that I for one am, as a most humble individual, deeply troubled and dismayed by what is going on in Paris and what is going on in Russia and the Balkans. What may be the fate of the so-called League of Nations only Providence knows, and by some systems of theology even Providence does not know. But whatever may be that theology, let us hope for the best, and take counsel of the happiness of the result which God has in store for mankind. There is one League of Nations that must be perpetuated; it is the league between the different branches of the English-speaking race. (Loud applause.)

I speak, my friends, as having some right to speak. I am a child of the Mayflower, of the Puritans, and my boy in this generation has gone back and become a British citizen. I want to say that as between these branches of this race, one in origin, there must be the closest co-operation and communion in mind, in sentiment, in heart, in feeling, in ideal, in service. For one is our destiny. (Applause.) If one fails and falls, the other will also fail and fall. United we can go forward, assured that under the Providence of God and with our sentiment of justice nothing can overwhelm us. We can go on and make this world worthy of its creation and preservation and destiny in the Divine Author of our human being.

I see yonder the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes. Their folds are intertwined side by side. I have a friend who has a castle in Scotland, a man of Scottish birth but of American life and service. After years in America he went back to old Scotland and built a castle. He wanted to fling forth from the towers of his castle some ensign, some token, and he asked himself, "What shall it be? If I put up the Union Jack it won't be quite fair to the country overseas of my adoption. If I put up the Stars and Stripes it is not just to Scotland and to the British Empire." And so this friend, patriotic in double relationship, and canny as a Scotchman ever is, put up a standard that on the one side is the Union Jack and the other the Stars and Stripes. (Laughter and applause.) And I have seen that double flag, hung there listless, wrapping itself around its one standard, and you could not tell whether it was the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes. (Laughter.) But I have seen also in the springtime a good stiff wind from the east blow upon that standard, and it made it stand out four-square as if it were adamant in that upper air, hard and solid as stone, proclaiming to all the world that when those two flags are united the world becomes the world not simply of our Anglo-Saxon race, but the world of God and of man. (Loud applause.)

The chairman expressed the hearty thanks of the club for the address, so lofty in its tone and so impressive in its character.

CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE PARIS CONSTITUTION

AN ADDRESS BY HON. THEODORE MARBURG,
M.A., LL.D., FORMERLY UNITED STATES
MINISTER TO BELGIUM.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
April 10, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS introduced the speaker in a few well-chosen words.

DR. MARBURG: Under the old order, the moment one war was over, militaristic nations began to prepare for the next. May the new world, which now looms above the horizon as a possibility, witness the end of such madness. If we cannot entirely prevent war surely we must render it impossible for any State to make preparation for war the principal business of the body politic. This we can do only by organizing the world against the possibility of sudden and wanton aggression and by setting up institutions, both negative and positive, which will make for justice. The objections to such organization are insignificant contrasted with the awful experiences of the present war, themselves trifling when compared with the wholesale disaster which will come upon men if the scientific instruments of destruction now used should be perfected and employed against mankind in a future world-struggle.

When we contemplate such a disaster we see how petty

The Honourable Theodore Marburg is justly regarded as an outstanding authority on international affairs. He served as United States Minister to Belgium during the years 1912 and 1913. He made a special study of the League of Nations and of the Peace Conference at Paris. In addition to many other activities Doctor Marburg is Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Organization of the League to Enforce Peace.

are all the objections raised in various quarters against international organization. The inconveniences of co-operation, which always involves self-denial, are patent. Its benefits are not on the surface; they are visible only to the seeing eye. The small-minded, the jingo, and the chauvinist stress the disadvantages of world organization. The principle of the *divine right of kings having been utterly destroyed by the events of this war, they still proclaim from the house-top the divine right of States* to have their way and to do their will regardless of the rights and interests of other States. This theory, too, must fall. The flood of misery that has rolled over the world has brought thinking men to the point where they insist that the time has come to do away with it. Society implies restraint—self-restraint and restraint from without. A truth which is emerging from the awful experiences of this war is that this principle has to be applied between States as it is now applied between individuals.

Men complain of the modification of sovereignty involved in this step. But this modification of sovereignty leads to true liberty between the nations just as surrender of license within the State leads to true liberty for individuals.

The minds of men have risen as never before to the point of demanding institutions which will discourage war. We have before us a most promising plan advanced by the Peace Congress under the leadership of President Wilson, who, partly because of his very advocacy of it, has laid hold of the hearts of men and attained a dominant position in the world such as no secular teacher has ever before enjoyed. The people of all the nations have seen the light. We may confidently expect that they will not let this splendid opportunity slip from their grasp, but will do now that which men ought to have done long ago, though for the doing of which they were never before in such a position of advantage.

Basis for Confidence.

The fighting still going on in Europe calls for action but need not cause anxiety. It is a case of the wood-mould burning after the forest fire has been conquered. The same is true of the prevailing social unrest. The great fact is that we have got Germany down and intend to keep her down in the military sense. We have got her fleet and do not intend to let her build another. We have got many of her guns and shall not let her replace them. For the Entente to form a *zollverein* and say to Germany, "Under no conditions will you be admitted," would simply be sowing the seeds of future war. But by forming a *zollverein* which she will be permitted to enter by conforming to the demand for disarmament we can compel her to disarm. For she cannot exist without both food and raw material from the outside world.

The next great fact is that we have overthrown autocracy wholesale. Self-government makes for good will.

Again, we have just witnessed a wonderful triumph of right. The awful penalties which have been visited, and are still to be visited, upon the aggressor will make men pause when they plan similar crime.

Moreover, the outcome of the war justifies abiding confidence in the triumph, by and large, of human reason. Reason orders the universe; and when so large a part of the world is acting together, as at present, it is bound to prevail in the affairs of men. This fact justifies confidence not only in the immediate result of the labors of the Paris Peace Conference but in the successful working of the instrument which may be born there.

Under the constitution reported to the Paris Conference, the charter members of the League are to decide by a two-thirds vote whom they will admit to the privileges of membership. Presuming that they will ultimately welcome to the circle at least all the progressive Powers, big and little, we shall have a full score of nations, and more, composing the League, and out of their deliberations and united action justice will result even as justice is done, under the Federal Constitution, to the forty-eight States composing the American Union. All other considerations are subordinate to this: with the whole world acting together, human reason will triumph and justice will triumph.

THE CONSTITUTION.

I shall discuss here the dominant feature of this instrument which we may call, not the Magna Charta, but the Maxima Charta of human liberties. It is the greatest document of political history, not so perfect either in form or phrasing as the Constitution of the United States, but affecting vast areas and populations and fraught with limitless possibilities of good. The more closely we examine it, the more certainly do we find that its great conceptions make not only for the discouragement of war but likewise for positive upbuilding in governmental and social relations generally.

What is the biggest single feature of it? Surely compulsory investigation. That is the item, if taken alone, most calculated to discourage war.

The constitution provides (Article 12) that "the high contracting parties agree that, should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the executive council, etc." The term "arbitration" is here used presumably in the French sense, to cover all kinds of settlement before a tribunal involving positive compliance with the decision or award. That term and the term "inquiry" would therefore cover all methods of settlement other than diplomacy and war.

What are the processes? There is, first of all, the judicial process, involving the settlement by a true Court of Justice of all questions which can be resolved on the basis of law and equity—justiciable questions. In its usual acceptation, the word "Court" carries with it the double idea of obligation not only to resort to the tribunal but to abide by its decision. It was because of this attribute that the Germans objected to the use of the term, pure and simple, in connection with an international court. It was at their insistence that the new tribunal adopted in principle by the Second Hague Conference was called the Court of *Arbitral* Justice instead of merely the Court of Justice, although the machinery devised was that of a true Court of Justice, not of a tribunal of arbitration. Such a true Court of Justice is now specifically demanded by Article 14 of the new Paris Constitution. The advantages of a tribunal of this character are that it will presumably be presided over by judges by profession, learned in the law, who will lean on precedent and, by moving from precedent to precedent, build up international law precisely as the great Common Law of England was built up. Furthermore, the existence of such a court will invite the codification of certain spheres of law just as the adoption of the International Court of Prize by the Second Hague Conference led to the London Conference of 1908-9 which codified the Law of Prize. The fact that the hostile attitude of the British House of Lords prevented the London Convention from becoming a part of the rules of war does not militate against the principle that the establishment of a Court invites the codification of law.

In addition to this natural process of growth by the action of the court and by codification which the existence of the court will invite, there is in the preamble of the Paris Constitution the specific injunction "to promote international co-operation . . . . by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments." And every time we remove a question from the arena of uncertainty to place it in that of law, we remove just one more question from the category which may lead to war.

Article 14 further provides that the new court shall "be competent to hear and determine any matter which *the parties recognize as suitable* for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article." This would imply mutual consent of disputants before a case can be brought before the court. Irrespective of additional provisions, is it conceivable that self-respecting countries—of which alone we hope the League will be composed—would, after consenting to this mode of settlement, disregard the decisions? The fact is that, excepting one case, in which the award was set aside by mutual agreement, we had an unbroken record of nearly a century during which the awards of international arbitrations were invariably accepted. It is only within the last few years that this splendid tradition has been interrupted by the action of some of the Latin-American countries in throwing down international arbitrations. And these exceptions should not disturb us. In the case of the backward countries, failure to respect arbitrations should not be looked upon as a failure of principle. It is due rather to the character of the people, who ought never to have been expected to practise advanced institutions of this kind. It is therefore reasonable to look forward confidently to the faithful observance of the decisions of a court to which disputes have been referred by mutual consent.

But the Paris Convention does not stop there. Article 13 contains a specific agreement to "carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered," and provides further that, "in the event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto."

A second form of peaceful settlement is that which is described by the word "arbitration" as employed by the English-speaking world. This process likewise carries with it the idea of obligation to respect the award. An arbitration may be conducted before the Permanent Court of International Arbitration at The Hague or by a tribunal independently instituted. Whichever method is followed, there is invariably a preliminary agreement, called by the French "compromis," which sets a limit to the arbitration and which invariably provides that the disputants will respect the award. Arbitration, in this sense, involves something of the nature of the judicial process but is not necessarily based upon law. Too often, in fact, its governing principle is compromise: mere desire to compose the dispute irrespective of where justice lies. It therefore lacks the elements of progress. On the other hand, it is often a necessary process in cases where the rules of law and equity do not apply. The Permanent Court of Arbitration set up at the Hague by the First Peace Conference (1899) has proved of the greatest value to the world. There is no desire to impair the prestige of that useful body. The Paris Constitution looks to its continuance in the provision (Article 13) that "for this purpose the court of arbitration," (used in the French sense) "to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them." We know that the awards of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague have been invariably accepted and that at least in one instance—the Casablanca affair—the action of the tribunal served to correct an acute situation. The point which it is desired to stress here is that the arbitral process is likewise a process which involves a binding and positive settlement of the dispute. As in the case of a court decision, I would ask again, is it conceivable that a self-respecting power will wait to have pressure brought upon it before it carries out the award of a tribunal whose pronouncements it has previously agreed to respect?

Peaceful settlement of disputes is likewise accomplished by a third method—inquiry. Ordinarily this process does not involve the obligation to respect the recommendations of the tribunal. In fact, inquiry may be had without the tribunal proceeding to a decision. The Paris Constitution, however, departs from practice in this respect and contemplates positive recommendations by the tribunal of inquiry. It is provided (Article 15) that dangerous disputes not submitted to arbitration shall be referred to the executive council by notice of one party to the dispute. If the council fails to bring about a settlement through continuing the diplomatic process it shall investigate and report on the matter, "setting forth, with all necessary facts and explanations, the recommendation which the council thinks just and proper for the settlement of the dispute."

Now, it would seem undesirable that the executive council, supposedly composed of men of wide executive experience, should sit as a body of judges. But apparently there is, at the same time, nothing in the Constitution which would prevent the executive council from conducting such an inquiry in any way it saw fit to conduct it. If this be correct, the executive council may then institute a special tribunal for the purpose of inquiry, composed of judges by profession or of authorities in international law.

The important thing for us to consider in this connection is the fact that there will be a report arrived at in some way, and that the facts of the dispute will thus be spread before the world. The further provision is made in the same article (15) that "if the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that, if any party shall refuse so to comply, the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendation. If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper."

Now, what is the significant thing underlying the various methods contemplated by the Paris Constitution for the peaceful settlement of disputes? It is that, under all of them, we are to have compulsory investigation. If any nation of the League disregards this fundamental obligation it is deemed, *ipso facto,* (Article 16) "to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the league." That is to say, its sense of obligation is counted upon to hold the self-respecting nation to its agreement under the constitution, and coercion will be employed forthwith against nations which lack that sense of obligation. The big fact is that, in one way or the other, we are to have investigation before the States of the League are allowed to make war upon one another. This provision for investigation is of the first importance for the discouragement of future war. It will not prevent all wars but is sure to prevent many wars. It would have prevented this war.

Many of us found, in the circle of our acquaintances, individuals who were caught and detained in Germany or Austria at the beginning of the Great War. Numbers of these individuals came out pro-German. If, now, the Germans could succeed in giving this bent to the mind of the foreigner, how much easier was it for them to convince their own people that Germany was "more sinned against than sinning." It is that which compulsory inquiry prevents. It serves not only to reveal the true nature of the controversy to the world, but likewise bares the facts to the people who are expected to do the fighting—lets them know what they are asked to fight about.

In April, 1916, Sir Edward Grey expressed to the writer the view that, if we had had in operation some such plan as this when the present war was threatening, Germany would have been forced to an inquiry and could not have proceeded with her aggressive plans.

True, Germany has actually been fighting the world. But did she know that she was going to fight the world? On July 27, 1914, the Italian statesman, San Giuliano, said to the French Ambassador at Rome: "If any power can determine Berlin in favor of peaceful action it is England." A few days earlier, Sazonof had asked that England take her stand openly by the side of Russia and France with a view to preventing the outbreak of war. Grey, San Giuliano, and Sazonof are recognized as men of penetration and wide experience. We are bound to attach importance to their view that, if England's demand for inquiry had been supported by force, the war would not have occurred.

Now, what evidence have we that inquiry into a dispute tends to effect a settlement? You recall, first the innumerable labor disputes in the United States, in England, and in France, which have been settled under arbitration boards by merely bringing the parties together and without proceeding to formal arbitration. The power to summons witnesses and compel a full disclosure of the facts has itself often inclined the disputants to accept the offices of the mediators.

In France we have had this principle applied for more than a century by the "Consells des Prud'hommes"—mixed tribunals of employers and employees—established by the first Napoleon. Here again actual arbitration has been the exception. Conciliation has sufficed to settle the vast majority of cases coming before the tribunals. And their greatest usefulness has lain in correcting unfavorable conditions in French industry before the situation became acute.

You recall the similar institution set up for the Dominion of Canada in 1907—compulsory investigation before lockouts and strikes may occur in any of the following services: railways and transportation lines, yard and wharf labor, telegraph, telephone, power and traction companies, and also mines. The operations of the Canadian law have not been so uniformly successful; but in connection with 212 disputes which had come before the board up to Oct. 18, 1916, we are informed that there were only 21 strikes. That is to say, nine-tenths of all the disputes in these services were settled without stopping work.

Turn to the international field, and you have an excellent example of the effectiveness of inquiry in warding off strife in the well-known Dogger Bank affair. It will be recalled how, in 1904, Rojestvensky, issuing from the Baltic, fired upon English trawlers in the belief that they were Japanese cruisers, sinking one of the vessels and killing two English fishermen. In the opinion of experienced men, this incident would have been followed promptly by war between Great Britain and Russia, except for the fact that the First Hague Conference (1899) had set up an institution known as the International Commission of Inquiry. The case was referred to this tribunal, the fact was brought out that Rojestvensky, however foolishly, still honestly, thought that he saw before him Japanese cruisers, and there was no war.

In one of the best Department papers since the days of Alexander Hamilton's reports on departmental activities, James R. Garfield shows the effectiveness of this principle in the actual experience of the United States Government in connection with the abuses of monopolies and trusts. The philosophy of it is this: that mere inquiry, bringing out the facts, serves to correct not only illegal practices but likewise unjust practices not covered by the law, and does it without resort to a court or even to an arbitration. That is a result which may be looked for under the League Constitution.

Any matter "affecting the peace of the world" may be dealt with by the executive council (Article 3), and the right to bring to the attention of the council all such matters is specifically recognized (Article 11) as a "friendly" right.

The League is given the right (Article 17) to take cognizance of disputes other than those between members of the League, and to invite the disputants "to accept the obligations of membership in the league" for the purpose of settling such disputes. If the invitation be refused, the executive council shall none the less consider and make recommendations in the matter.

When the League is in full operation, we may therefore expect that the executive council and the sub-committees it will establish will watch, not only international events, but all conditions likely to lead to international complications. This means that ultimately the "sunlight of God's truth" will penetrate to the remotest places and search out abuses everywhere.

In addition to bringing out the facts of a dispute, the institutions we have been discussing provide another factor of importance. It is that of delay. Time is afforded for the subsidence of popular passion, excited, mayhap, by a single untoward incident like the Dogger Bank affair already referred to. For it is likewise provided (Article 12) that the States of the League "will in no case resort to war" . . . . "until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the executive council."

HON. W. D. MCPHERSON expressed the hearty thanks of the Club for the address, amid hearty applause.

DEMOCRACY OR BOLSHEVISM

AN ADDRESS BY REV. C. A. EATON, D.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, April 17, 1919.

DR. EATON was introduced in a neat speech by the President, and was received enthusiastically by the audience with cheers and applause.

DR. EATON said: Mr. President and Gentlemen, I would be quite unCanadian if I were not deeply moved by such a welcome home. I am unworthy of it, but I like it just the same.

I am going to speak to you upon what I think is the supreme question of this day for all the world, our choice between Democracy and Bolshevism as the foundation upon which we are to construct a new age. Whenever I permit my mind—and I suppose you have had the same experience—to run over the awful results of the German assault upon human liberties, I become almost speechless. If you could gather together all the traitors against humanity since the dawn of time,

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Reverend Doctor Eaton is a Canadian by birth and education. He has been for years an outstanding public figure in the life both of Canada and the United States. As pastor of leading Baptist churches in Toronto, Cleveland and New York, he has become known as one of the outstanding preachers of the Continent. His broad interest in public affairs is indicated by his newspaper work. During his Toronto pastoracy he contributed extensively both to Canadian and United States newspapers. His capacity for leadership led to his selection as Chairman of the National Bureau of Speakers and in this position he and his assistants did wonderful work in educating the people of the United States during the war. As President of the Canadian Society of New York he has been indefatigable in his efforts for a closer and more friendly relation between the United States and the British Empire, and he did splendid service in upholding the cause of the Allies in the early days of the war.

including the arch-traitor Judas Iscariot, you would not begin to approach the treasonable results of the German assault upon human liberties. Your children and your grand children to the last generation in every land in the world will still be reaping the whirlwind sown by this damnable group of world assassins. Men tell me that the war is over and I must treat the Germans gently by squirting a little moral rosewater on them. I say no, the man who assumes that attitude has something wrong with his moral nature. These people have assassinated the world, and instead of patting them on the back and making a pious peace with them let them take their medicine now. That is what they went out to get. (Applause.) They wanted "world domination or ruin." They did not get the first, thank God. Give them their fill of the latter.

There was a dog that used to chase a train that Charlie Schwab rode in from New York to Bethlehem. One day Mr. Schwab said to the brakeman, "What is the matter with that dog? What is he chasing the train for?" The brakeman said, "I don't know, but I have given a great deal of thought to one question, as to what that dog would do with this train if he caught it?" (Laughter.) Well now, the Germans have got the other horn of the dilemma which they erected; let them have it, and don't make it too soft for them.

We have troubles enough of our own, and in addition we have the enormous flood of troubles that has poured out of the assassinations of mankind by the German arms. I look forward to the next five years as being as difficult,if not more difficult for the entire race of men, than were the past five years of bloodshed and strife, because, in those days, we had the compelling impulse of a great struggle; the world was knit together by a bond of common danger and common enthusiasm and common dedication to a great cause. The day the armistice was signed the binder was broken and the bundle fell apart; and we have had the great nervous re-action which comes to all men after a period of frightful strain. Under these conditions, with hell loose in every land under the sun, it takes a man with his feet on the ground and his head cool and his heart warm to stand up to it in cold blood, day after day, and discharge his obligations as a man ought to do. That is why this is going to be such a difficult age.

The Germans undertook to fasten upon the world what we call autocracy. The theory of autocracy is that power originated at the top; a mythical being known as "Gott" delegated to some favorite, who may be a wise man or a fool—it is about fifty-fifty in history—delegated to this favorite autocratic power, and this gentlemen spreads his power out upon a chosen few, and he and his associates rest squarely upon the masses of men, exploiting the mass of men for and in the interest of the few. This is Prussianism, and Prussianism is dead, thank God, never to rise again. We have settled that. (Applause.)

The other great claimant for the suffrage of the world has been described since written history as Democracy. In 1830 De Tocqueville, a famous Frenchman, visited this continent to study democratic institutions in America, and he wrote a chapter to describe the persistence of the democratic ideal against adverse conditions down the centuries. It is one of the most fascinating and amazing spectacles of history that in spite of all obstacles there has steadily grown a hunger in the world for that thing we call Democracy.

Democracy is here, but a new claimant has reached the field and undertakes to divide the suffrage of the world with triumphant democracy. We call that claimant Bolshevism. The theory of democracy is that political power originates at the bottom, that government exists by the consent of the governed, that law and all the institutions of the state are simply a projection of the intelligence and character of the masses of the men constituting that state. Democracy knows nothing of a class; it recognizes only the government and the individuals who constitute the nation. Theoretically ,under a democratic system there are no rich and no poor, no men or women; it is like the Kingdom of God. There is room in a democracy, theoretically, for every man to realize all his powers, whether they be small or great.

Now we have Bolshevism offering itself as an opponent and substitute of Democracy. Bolshevism is simply Prussianism turned upside down. Whereas Prussianism is the exploitation of the many by the few, for the few; Bolshevism is the exploitism of the few by the many, for the many.

Bolshevism will fail, first because it is distinctly and completely and consciously a class movement. It begins and ends with the proletariat. The proletariat republic of Russia is a republic of one class, namely the people who work with their hands. Gentlemen, no civilization founded upon one class was ever permanent. Prussianism failed for that reason and for no other. It was a pyramid upon its apex, and when the torrents of outraged public opinion fell upon it, backed by the armed force of the world, it collapsed. Bolshevism will fail for exactly the same reason. There is not a free man in the earth but would rather lie down in the clean earth dead than draw a single breath of tainted air under the tyranny of an autocracy; but how much more would we fight and die before we would surrender our manhood to the domination of a mob of unwashed, bewhiskered nobodies who do not know their right hand from their left. (Applause.)

Bolshevism will fail because it is a class movement, using physical force as the instrument of its advancement. In the long run gentlemen, you can never put into a position of permanence any institution which does not rest squarely upon a moral foundation of justice. (Applause.) You can establish an institution by force, and keep it there for a little while, but the universe is against you, God is against you, human nature is against you, and sooner or later your hands holding that artificial weight up there will become palsied, and the moment you withdraw the support of force it crumbles and collapses. Nothing is permanent except that which rests upon the ultimate principles of justice.

Bolshevism will fail because it is contrary to human nature and the nature of things. It is a fact that a normal man must have more than a class if he is to realize his powers. He must have men above him to whom he can aspire and before whom he can stand in reverence.

He must have men his equals with whom he can compete and co-operate and thus develop himself by contact. He must have a nation with all its wonderful variety of life, its arts and sciences, its religion, its irreligion even, all the vast splendid diversity of a great national complex is necessary for the complete development of any individual citizen. More than that, he must have other nations, so that the great dreams and ideals of alien races may correct and inspire his ideals. He must have more that that; he must have another world lying beyond and around this, so that in the unfathomed infinitudes of eternity he may realize the incompletions of this earthly world.

A man is a universe greater than the physical universe, and to undertake to cram him down and squeeze him into the narrow confines of the lowest class of all the world is to assassinate human nature at its very source. (Applause.)

If Bolshevism were to go on, it cannot logically end until it places the government of the world in the hands of the Hottentots and the head hunters. I need not stop to elaborate. It is the logical conclusion from the Bolshevist premise that the lower and more common people are, the more right they have to rule. Consequently we must find on the earth the lowest sweepings of hell, and when you do find them then they will become your masters by virtue of the fact that they constitute the lowest order.

It is time for us to quit our squeamish nonsense, gentlemen. Let us proclaim the fact that there are men of one lung, one engine men; there are six-cylinder men; there are big men and there are little men. A cow has two ends, one has the tail on it and the other the head. Both are useful in the proper place. How foolish it would be to reverse those ends. That is like the chap that was milking a cow, and a lady came around who thought he was a slacker and said "Why aren't you at the front." He replied "Madam, the milk is not at that end." (Laughter.)

The time has come for every man in the world to stand up and be counted for sanity and justice. Do not lose your head because a dozen ignorant, stupid men march down the street with a red banner and say "you have a few dollars and we want it." Tell them if they want it to go and get it, and meet them with a shotgun as you would any other thief. The time has come when you have got to say to these masses of men, "You have your rights, I have mine." (Applause.) "Observe them both." And if you do not take the matter in your two hands like a man now, it will get away from you by-and-by. Now is the time when the stream is not too strong.

So I would face the question squarely and first of all I propose that we recognize intelligently the failures of democracy. It is the purest kind of buncombe for any man to say that democracy is the millenium, just as it is lunacy for the Bolshevist to say that to introduce his system would introduce the millenium. Mr. Trotsky has introduced the millenium in Russia and now he wants to export large chunks of it for the consumption of the rest of us. I would suggest that if the Russians like that kind of thing, that is the kind of thing they like. Let them have it provided they keep it at home. But we don't want it in Canada, and we don't want it in the United States or anywhere else where men after a thousand years of experiment and loss and struggle have evolved even a rudimentary system of free institutions and self government.

Trotsky never had a country; he never had five minutes experience as a citizen in working the institutions of a free government, and yet with an equipment of that kind he suddenly assumes supreme command of over one hundred and eighty million people and manufactures a system of government out of hot air. And in a few months he has brought Russia so far down in the scale of life that it will take a hundred years for that great people to escape and to rehabilitate themselves, even with all the help that the rest of us can give. What is the use of our parlor Bolsheviks with wondering, dreamy eyes telling us "it is a great idealism." Gentlemen, this is an age when we need to keep our feet on the ground and to face our problem with vision and common sense. (Applause.)

Let us admit then, that our democracy has failed in many particulars and let us grasp with firm hands the task of remedying those failures. There is no doubt that we have great, unnecessary and unjust contrasts in our democratic life. I am thoroughly in favor of eliminating the parasites fastened upon our body politic under our democratic institutions. Bolshevism is a state of mind; it was born in the bowels of Prussianism; it is the illegitimate child of Prussianism laid on the doorstep of the world. And, gentlemen, there is something to be said for the antagonistic mental attitude of suddenly awakened masses of men struggling on the edge of starvation, who see men or women, whose only achievement is to be the sons or daughters of their father, who inherited immense fortunes, a goodly portion of which was probably stolen or won by slaughter of weak competitors, and by reason of this unearned inheritance spend their time in doing nothing. There are such absolute parasites who work in no factories, build no buildings, till no farms, and make no contribution to the moral or spiritual or intellectual resources of their time. There is only one thing for us to do, and that is to pinch off the parasites, whether they be cooties or humming birds; pinch them off and get rid of them. (Laughter.)

There are a handful of tremendous issues which all the world must face and solve. The first, of course, is the relationship between the nations, which has to be re-foundationed and re-developed. I suppose you are just as much interested in that as we are in the United States. Public opinion there is very much divided on the subject but I imagine that between 90 and 95 per cent of the people of the nation who think at all, are determined to have some kind of a league of nations as provision against future wars. They are not quite sure that the beautiful creation which Mr. Wilson brought over to us in one of his all too infrequent visits to his native land, is just what we want. We have all sorts of opinion, ranging from that of Darwin Kingsley, the head of the New York Life Insurance Co., who wants a confederation between the British Empire and the

Republic of the United States, (Applause.) and who believes that if we have that we shall have all the League of Nations we need as a guarantee of the future, and all the other nations will come in with us sooner or later. I am inclined to believe that too, yet I am rather a partial witness and they do not take much stock in what I have to say on that particular point. (Laughter.) We have every shade of opinion all the way from the stand patters who look upon America as if she were situated in an isolated vacuum, separate and distinct from every other nation in the world. But we are going to have some kind of a League of Nations.

Beyond that, we must face and define almost *de novo* the future relationship between the citizen and his government. Shall we have Socialism? Shall we have Bolshevism? Shall we have old fashioned Democracy? Now, before the war I had quite a streak of socialism in my make-up. There were certain great public utilities and public resources which theoretically it seemed to me would be better owned and controlled and operated by the government in the interests of all the people.

To speak as an American, we have had two years of government control of our railways, and that has cured me, and it has cured many others. (Applause.) We had one of the greatest, if not the greatest and most efficient railway system in the world—with the possible exception of the Canadian Pacific—before the war, and if there is anything that could be wrong with railway administration that is not wrong with ours, just let us know and we will take it up. In the United States after the experience of the last two years, I think I am exactly stating public opinion when I say that state ownership is as dead as the dodo. We have come to believe, and I think Canadians will come to believe, that in free self-governing constituencies, the less government you have the better it will be for every one concerned. Give the government its function, which is simple, and then leave to the individual every conceivable opportunity to realize himself from his own initiative, his own courage, his own strength, realize himself in public and private service of his nation. (Applause.) That is our theory of Democracy.

Another great issue that I am particularly interested in is the new relationship between the various parties in industry. You have heard recently Mr. Mackenzie King. I would like to say here that Mr. King has probably done more in the United States to usher in a new era of thought and attitude on the question of industrial relationships than any other one single influence in that great country. (Applause.) I do not believe that he knows that, and it gives me pleasure to say it behind his back. It would never do to say to a man with a Scotch name a thing that was decent, to his face; he might think you were insincere. (Laughter.) I do not know how it is in Canada, but gentlemen, you might as well get down to brass tacks and face the situation. The old age of autocratic business is gone, along with the other autocracies.

I remember when I was a lad in New England, seeing the old fashioned little shoe factories built in the back yards. The fathers and mothers worked there and the sons and daughters, and the sons and daughters of the neighbors. Those people were all of one breed and all had a double consciousness. They worked with their hands; they had as a result the consciousness of the worker; they saved their money and that gave them the consciousness of the capitalist. They stood upon two feet as every normal being ought to. By-and-by there came a new complexity in business. The little factory was closed down and amalgamated with others, and it re-appeared down town in a great barn-like building. In one corner was the office where sat the management. They were engaged in problems of buying and selling, financing their institution and administration. They had now only one consciousness, the consciousness of the capitalist. Out here a thousand workmen stood at one place all day monotonously stamping out pieces of leather or driving pegs into heels; and these men had one consciousness, the consciousness of the workmen. Consequently society became divided into groups, each group standing only upon one leg, and therefore very unstable in equilibrium.

When the great campaigns in this country and in the United States were instituted for Victory Bonds, we put back into our life that double consciousness, by inducing great numbers of working people to become, for the first time, investors in income-producing securities; and when they made the discovery that a bond of the United States or Canada is like a famous patent medicine, in that it works while you sleep, it had a very wholesome and happy re-action upon them.

That one thing, with thousands of other forces, has brought us to a new age, and the question is, can we introduce the principles of political democracy, for which we consider this world war was fought, into the realm of industry? For, gentlemen, it is a trite observation but I must make it, that it is inherent in every great principle espoused by men, that it should seek to enthrone itself in every walk of life. When, for instance, the theory of evolution was presented to the world some people thought that it would confine itself to natural science, but instantly it looked over the wall and sought to apply itself in business, in politics, in theology. It became the great disturber of the fixed conditions of human thought.

Before the war we had continuous strife between labor and capital; we used to think that was a matter of dollars or cussedness on the part of the men involved. We now discover that back of those externals lay the unconscious effort of political democratic principles to apply themselves in the realm of industry as they had in politics. I am surprised that men like yourselves, who have been the inheritors of a thousand years of struggle for freedom, should for a moment hesitate or be confused or afraid when the proposition is put squarely up to you, "Can we apply our principles of political democracy to industry, to religion, to other activities of life?"

I believe we can. I base that belief first upon a year and a half experience with the workingmen of the United States. I spoke personally myself to over a million of them. I recognize their limitations, but I tell you this, that I found absolutely no difference in kind between the men in the front office and the men out in the riveting gang, not a particle of difference. If one had typhoid fever, and the others got it, the bug worked just the same, and it was the same kind of a bug. When they died, they were just as dead as if they had not come from different parts of the world. There is no difference in the fundamentals of human nature.

That is the great new dream that is coming for American industry like a glorious new golden age. It is one of the most extraordinary features of the reconstruction time, the change in the attitude on the part of leaders in American industry. Take Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. He was born with a mighty handicap as the son of a very rich man. He owned a great industry in Colorado. He had at the same time a Bible class in New York and told all the boys to be good. The country used to laugh at that and criticize it, and it gave a great cause for scoffing. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. was a scandal; industrial strife and confusion were the order of the day. Mr. Rockefeller one day made the discovery that he was the owner of that institution and therefore responsible for its conditions. What did he do? He did what every strong brave man ought to do; he went and faced the music where the music was being made. And when he got there, under the guidance of one of the leading Canadian experts in such business, he evolved a system of representation in business.

The condition was analysed into four parties and that is accepted as the groundwork now of all industrial relations—capital, management, labor and the community. Heretofore labor had fought capital and management together, and the part of the community has been the part of the innocent bystander who gets the brick. That is changed today by a system of democratic representation between management and the men; all those troubles have evaporated and the Colorada Fuel & Iron Co. is composed of human beings in the management and among the men, and instead of strikes and strife and animosity and that ill-will which, I believe, economists tell us cuts down production fifty per cent, instead of that we have a great splendid family working together as a national service, proud of themselves, proud of each other and growing more like men every day. (Applause.)

The same is true in the Bethlehem Steel, under Mr. Schwab, whom I look upon as one of the very greatest Americans, and one of the greatest democrats of the ages.

George Eastman, of the Eastman Kodak Co. is another of the great men who are seeking to humanize industrial relations. I, myself, have the honor of being advisory counsel of one of the greatest industrial organizations of America, and my job is to furnish the principles on which democracy shall be introduced into the entire organization, and that at the request of the head of it, a man of untold wealth and a great autocratic power, but he reads the handwriting on the wall and he re-acts in his moral sense to the glory and challenge of this hour.

Unless you plow a furrow around your works yourself, before the fire reaches you, you will have no protection when it comes. These men in America say, "We will not leave our hundreds and thousands of workmen to the leading of the Bolshevist agitator; we will come down and stand with them and lead them ourselves." And it is a wonderful thing when men stand face to face, to see how quickly they lose their antagonisms, which are based nearly always upon ignorance of each other. Gentlemen, that is the great revolution. Industry is the very foundation of all national progress, industry and agriculture, and unless the two parties in industry, the men who work with their hands and the men who work with their brains, can find partnership, co-operation and full brotherhood, we are going to continue an age of strife and ruin and failure, which will put behind in the race any nation unfortunate enough to keep that system as the basis of its industry.

Gentlemen, it is a falsehood; you can nail it down as an unmitigated lie that there is a natural antagonism between the interests of labor and capital. If you follow that through to its logical conclusion one must destroy the other. If therefore, labor is destroyed, the world is thrown into starvation; we cannot eat money or machinery. And if capital is destroyed, labor falls back automatically to the status of the cave man and becomes a citizen of the stone age once more. No, gentlemen, just as the rich man and the poor man have co-operated for a thousand years under British institutions in building up and working the institutions of their country in the interests of all, so the employer and the employee from now on must stand together in the interests of their nation. They must make every business that operates in this nation a national service, and they must go to it as brothers and fellow-citizens and partners in that great enterprise. (Applause.)

This industrial situation is supreme; what then are we going to do? Well, my first proposition may surprise you, being a preacher, and that is that most of the troubles between men originate in their souls. We have the American and Canadian nations side by side with between three and four thousand miles ot imaginary boundary, for a hundred years, and in that hundred years there has not been a year but some issue rose between the two peoples, containing all the seeds of war; yet we never went to war. Why? Because on that side and on this we had the same moral standard to which we brought for final answer and solution our problems and our issues. (Hear, hear.) We had the same soul nurtured in the same traditions of personal responsibility and good sportsmanship. When issues arose we submitted them to arbitration. When the arbitrator decided against the United States all the newspapers immediately announced that the United States had been outraged, betrayed, and robbed. Then everybody forgot it and went about their business. When the arbitrators announced his decision against Canada, everybody in Canada put up a howl that once more Uncle Sam had outraged, robbed and betrayed us through our delinquent representatives on the board of arbitration; and then we all forgot it here and went on with our business. So we have gone on for a hundred years and so, please

God, may we go on to the end of time. (Applause.)

So my first cure for the tremendous ills and difficulties of our hour is that we extend through all realms of life a oneness of moral standard. I would take the preachers out of the pulpits where they are trying to squirt religion into people that have got so much religion in them now that they can't practice it in the next thousand years, and I would put them out into the street and in the factories and on the farms and have them preach this one standard. I would have the Catholic priest and the Episcopalian rector and the Baptist pastor put their moral proposition into one term so that from one end of the land to the other every man would have one soul, and no other kind of soul but a Canadian soul. (Applause.)

I would ask the newspapers to do the same, and believe me, the newspapers are a mighty force, and growing mightier every day. I would ask the school teachers to do the same, so that everywhere we shall have one moral standard. We believe it is just as necessary for a man to be religious on Monday as it is on Sunday. (Applause.) We have had a great contention as to what religion means, and we have discovered that the Kingdom of God is out there where men are, and unless a man who runs a factory, or drives an express wagon, or holds a plow, is just as religious when he is doing these things as when he is sitting on a cushioned pew on Sunday, then he is not religious at all. (Applause.) A man cannot be a Christian Sunday morning by putting a nickel in the plate and cussing the preacher because he preaches thirty-five minutes instead of thirty, and then going out on Monday morning and flaying his neighbors. That day has gone by. You have either got to be at it seven days a week or not at all. That is the first cure I would prescribe, a general advancing of one moral and spiritual standard into every department of human life.

Secondly, I would see to it,—and that I think is the solemn duty of every citizen—that in the elections, local, provincial, federal, from now on, no men or women shall offer themselves for public positions unless they represent the highest character and intelligence of the community. (Applause.) And when they have so offered themselves—usually as a sacrifice—and have been elected, then it is the duty of the citizens to make a wall of fire around them instead of assassinating them by lies and abuse and slander, and making it an extra hazardous calling to go into public life. (Applause.)

In the next place I would like to see the United States government and the Canadian government go through these two countries with a fine tooth comb, and comb out every man or woman who is teaching doctrines which undermine the authority and influence of our governments. I would bring those long-whiskered, unwashed mal-contents to the shore and put them on a ship and tell them to get out of here to where they belong. (Applause.) Why not? I would stand to the last ditch for your liberty of opinion if you differed from me, for your right of public assemblage, and for full and free expression of your views, but when you become an assassin of the foundations and authority of your government, then every good man in the nation ought to be your enemy. He is not good if he is not, and he ought to see to it that you get sent back to Russia or somewhere where you will be perfectly satisfied with the beautiful conditions of life.

I do not know how it would work here, but in the United States we are advocating that we close the gates of immigration for at least four years, or possibly longer. Now in Canada you have a great temptation. You are the richest people in the world, although you have to have Christian Science sometimes to realize that you are. (Laughter.) No nation that ever lived has had such enormous natural resources as you have per capita. Gentlemen, there is such a thing as a nation growing too fast. (Hear, hear.) I have always maintained that if the United States had had half as many people five years ago, she would have been twice as great. Why? Because she would have had one soul. And fifty million people animated by one spirit, subjected to one standard and lured forward by one ideal, are infinitely stronger than a hundred million people centred in different social centres, with different moral standards and with antagonisms in their spirits one to another. (Hear, hear.) So I would say to Canada, the dear land of my birth, seek a citizenship of quality rather than quantity and make that quality one hundred per cent Canadian. I love Canada, I ought to. My people have been here for one hundred and fifty years and in a part of Canada which is the capstone of the whole proposition, Nova Scotia, where they say we are brought up on faith, fish and philosophy. And I love the United States, where my people have lived since the Mayflower, and I feel that the destiny of this continent north of the Rio Grande is identical. I feel that these two peoples, side by side, have a most tremendous responsibility for service to mankind, and I am eager and anxious to see that Canada does not repeat the mistakes of the United States.

If you want more laborers, improve the quality of the laborers you now have. If you will take the ill-will and antagonism and suspicion out of your workingmen you will get fifty per cent more product from them. I will guarantee that. If you evolve a government policy covering the whole nation whereby you can take the square pegs out of round holes and put them in square holes, and *vice versa,* you will add enormously to the sum total of labor resources. If you will take the people that are doing things that do not need to be done, and give them something honest to do, you will solve your problem without flooding your nation with a horde of undigested, illiterate, unSaxon and unCanadian people.

I have no fault to find with them in their own place, but you cannot face the problems of your nation as a house divided against itself, and if you introduced millions of aliens into your Northwest you will have two Canadas, one west and one east. They have no traditions as you have; they come from the four corners of the earth and they strike their roots into your soil and they build around a new and unCanadian thought, and their Canada will not be the Canada down here.

So I would say to Canada, go slow; and I would say to the United States, go slow. I believe with all my heart that we can meet every labor need without a great influx of immigration. You can have immigration; you can bring hundreds and thousands of Britishers across the sea; there are still splendid people who want to come here, but if they come, and when they get here, see to it that they are Canadians, first, last and all the time. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, these are tremendous times; and they are going to try men's souls, but I say this, that life never looked so alluring, so entrancing, so challenging to all the best that is in mankind. With the great sacrifice of wounds and war that you have made, with the tremendous outpouring of men and treasure, which will make Canada immortal through all the centuries to come, you have had written by your sons and by your women in the last five years, a history that makes the sons of Canada take rank with the heroes of Thermopylae and Marathon, and all the great central struggles of the ages. That is a mighty heritage. You will have hardships, you will have problems which will try your souls, but gentlemen, you will never go wrong by betting your money on Canada—never. People of the race from which you are sprung believe in those immortal institutions which have been bought by the blood and sacrifice of a thousand years of heroes. Believe in yourselves, and give yourselves, not simply as individuals but as citizens of this fair land, and in the days to come you will suddenly discover that you have reached the Golden Age. God bless Canada. (Applause.)

CAPTAIN REV. W. A. CAMERON presented to Dr. Eaton the thanks of the Club.

EDUCATION AND WEALTH

AN ADDRESS BY P. P. CLAXTON, L.L.D., COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION FOR THE UNITED STATES,

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
April 24, 1919.

LADIES and Gentlemen, and fellow citizens of the new Republic of the World: (Applause.)

I was reminded a few moments ago, when you sang "God Save The King" and "My Country 'Tis Of Thee," that some years ago I happened to be on the ocean on my way across to England. About half way across, in mid-ocean, we had an entertainment on board ship one evening, and after the entertainment had about finished we ended up by singing both together. About half the number on board were English and the other half were American. Some one went to the piano and played the air and on one side they sang "God Save the Queen" and on the other we sang "My Country 'Tis Of Thee." The words were different, the music was the same; the thoughts were somewhat different, the ideals and the hopes and the aspirations and the emotions were the same. (Applause.) It has been so with us, and it is with you on this side the border-line as it is with us on the other side; and probably it is true with all those who speak the speech that Shakespeare spoke, those who know that good old Anglo-Saxon tongue and its phraseology; it is dedicated to liberty, to freedom, to demo-

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Dr. Claxton's position is sufficient to qualify him as one of the outstanding educationalists of the Continent. His wide and varied experience in the training of teachers in Normal Schools of the United States; his service as Professor of Pedagogy and as editor of various educational journals, give him a broad outlook on the general field of education. He has held his present position as Commissioner of Education since 1911.

cracy. Democracy may take one form or another but its principles and aims are the same.

I have been asked to speak to you on the subject of Education and Wealth. In a democracy, we are accustomed to say on the other side of the border-line, everything waits on education. Material wealth depends on education; civic righteousness depends on the education of the people; social purity depends on education, and the individual welfare and happiness, after all, is only a matter of education, because there can be only one final aim in life and that is culture, which is not a thing coming directly from a school, or from one particular study or another, but it is the deepening and widening and refining and ripening of the human soul that comes with good living, from working intelligently at something with strong will and good purpose, not for selfish gain but for the common good. (Applause.)

So it all comes back finally to education. It has been my fortune, for a good part of my life, to plead with the people, to argue with them, to urge them and their representatives, in legislatures and other tax-levying bodies, to support education more liberally, to give larger amounts of money for it, because like other things good it costs money. I have been constantly met with this reply, "Mr. Claxton, we believe in education as much as you do. It is a desirable thing, and when we have the money, and are able, we will provide for the support of the schools liberally." I had to find an answer for it because they would say to me, "Living is first, food and clothing and shelter, and the material things of life." So I set myself to find if there was any relation between education and wealth, and if I could justify my cause before hard-headed business men. One day I had occasion, with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of my State, to go up into a little valley county in the mountains, the Cumberland Mountains, to what we call an educational rally. It was for the purpose of speaking to the people, urging them to vote upon themselves a tax for the improvement of the schools in that county. We met a few people in the County Court House and about the time I was leaving a man came in, apparently a man of some native ability at least. He came and introduced himself, and said: "I am sorry I am late. I wanted to hear you fellows speak. I wanted to hear what you could say for education. I'm ag'in' it!" Well, I knew what he meant; he wanted to know what we could say for it from his standpoint of adding a few dollars to his fortune of material wealth, to the improvement of his material condition. On the way home that afternoon, on the train, I tried to answer it, and in order to get back to the beginning, I imagined myself a wizard with the power to wield or wave my wand over the State of Tennessee, (It was in that State of my birth) and over the United States and the rest of the world, and, as I waved it, a mist and darkness came down out of the heavens and settled on the minds of the people. The mathematician forgot his mathematics; the physician forgot his medicine and the lawyer forgot his law; and the people forgot all that they learned in and through the schools—all they knew of acquired knowledge. They forgot to read and write. Then I sat and watched things work, and it was an instructive kind of proceeding. I was on a train hurtling along at forty miles an hour towards the east; there was one coming down the track the other way, from the east towards the west. I watched them run in head on collision! No, the conductors were a little more cautious and they stopped, and the trains stood until they rusted and melted into dust. We could not send a telegram any more. Within less than an hour every steam engine in the State and in the United States ceased to throb; you could not read the steam gauge any more. Before long all the industries of that country, and throughout the country, and throughout the world had stopped. The next morning there was no free delivery of mail; the post office did not open; there were no newspapers to deliver; there was no letter transmitted through the mails. Nobody could read and write again. And then I watched the merchant as his supply of goods was exhausted; and when they were exhausted, he harnessed up his team to the wagon and drove as far as was necessary to find someone who had a supply of the kind of goods he wanted. There was no longer a commercial traveller; no longer possible to get on the train and go for them, when the goods were all exhausted. The agricultural implements were worn out, and the bridges were broken down, and they could not make steel to make any more. We were about to have an election in that great Democratic State, but the election was never held for the ballots could not be printed. It was only a little while until our government went to pieces, and then we found the people ranging themselves behind and under the command of the strong men; and they were fighting, one against the other, for the possession of a little bit of the alluvial soil along the river where the loam was deep, that they might scratch it with a crooked stick, as they do in all the world where the "curse" of education has not yet come, either directly or indirectly. Then there was famine and pestilence and they sent for the physician, but there was none. They sent for the medicine man of the tribe and he danced and sang around the stricken, diseased person to frighten away the devils, but they would not go. Then they sent for the minister, but there was none.—Long ago the churches had been banished and the Book of Life and Light had been closed, and nobody read from it any longer. They sent then for a priest of their superstition and he said there is an angry God, and he put a bright young man on a stone altar and struck him to the heart with a stone knife, and offered his body a sacrifice to propitiate the anger of the God.

Then, I asked myself what would this man's land on the river be worth under those conditions, and what would become of all the wealth of the country; how much would be listed on the tax assessor's books? I imagined, to get another angle on it, a great fire or some besom of destruction sweeping over the country, and everything we call wealth, except the natural resources, were swept away; but in the doing of that it seemed by some means there was a transformation of the people, and they came out of it all with a good modern high school education, knowing chemistry and physics and biology, and their practical application in industries—in the harnessing of waterpower, in knowing the fertility of the soil and making it produce, and labor saving machinery; and a good large number of men, graduates of the colleges and universities and from the technical schools, with power to attract an intelligent group of men of good education below them, and in less than one generation it was all reproduced ten times over.

Then I made for myself a formula. It was like this, and I believe it is correct: There are three factors making up the product and wealth of a country and all else of the kind. These factors let us call "x", "y", and "z". "x" and "y", with man's assistance, makes up the product of material wealth. "x" is the natural resources of the country, the depth and fertility of the soil, forest resources, mineral wealth, the climatic positions and conditions of the country. The second, "y", is the native ability of the people. Whether they have native ability of a high character; whether they have heads three stories with a mansard roof; whether they have high ideals, as they may have by nature, or whether their constitutions have been sapped by the vices and follies of their ancestors before they were born, at any rate, these two factors are fixed. You cannot change the climate of Ontario by legislation, or by legislature or parliament; you cannot change, by any kind of edict, the native ability of the people. It is what it is, and only through the slowly swinging centuries can you, by good living and by practical eugenics, change, a little bit, the native ability of the population of a community. The third factor is not fixed; it is variable; it is acquired ability, the thing you call education—knowledge of the forces of nature; skill in controlling and applying that knowledge, of your relation to your fellowmen; skill in adjusting yourself to your fellowmen, in all the conditions and in all the vocations of life. That is a variable quantity, as I said.

Then I began to follow up; and I let "6" represent the first, and "4" the next; and I said 6 times 4 is 24; 6 times 4 times 1 is 24 still; but 6 times 4 times 2 would be 48; and I believe that it would hold, and I made investigation and I found that it always does. So 6 times

4 times 3 is 72; 6 times 4 times 5 is 120; 6 times 4 times 10 is 240. I have done nothing to the 6 and nothing to the 4. There is no change in the natural resources, no change in the native ability; but I have done what every statesman, who is worthy of the name, knows is the central principle of statesmanship. I have worked it out, changing the factor that is changeable, and no one has yet found a limit to it. I have offered a reward, and it has been standing these twenty years or more, to anyone who will find any country, anywhere, the conditions of which do not justify the principle of that formula. If anyone will find anywhere a people living in a country of any kind, regardless of the natural resources of the country, the people there being well educated and all of them able to read and write, and a good large per cent. of them with the education of the schools, the high school and the college, with a good percentage of them with training and skill, technical training in engineering and chemistry and agriculture and other things of the kind—if I find a people like that who are not rich and powerful, and growing richer, then my reward holds. Or, if you will find anywhere in the world, though it may be the soil is rich as the valley of the Amazon, though the climate may be such that it will produce all kinds of crops the year round, though it may be a people with as good native ability as ourselves when we wandered in the forests of northern Europe yonder, dressed in skins of wild animals, or dancing naked in the moonlight; if you find a people like that who are ignorant and illiterate, wherever they may be, who are not poor and growing relatively poorer, then the reward holds again.

I said, if this thing is a worthy thing, then here is a good argument for it. But the first time I tried it on an audience I was attacked by a minister who said I was lowering the ideal of education. Then I remembered that I had heard a good many sermons against wealth and money, but I had never known a preacher who had refused to take pay for his sermons, and until I did I thought maybe he was not in full earnest. After all, is it a worthy aim? Does our good old Anglo-

Saxonism lie out of the heart of itself when it calls these material things wealth, that which wealth, that which doeth good? If it is properly used I believe that in itself it is not so low as it is some times considered to be.

I said last night to some of you who were present then, that, after all, no country has ever yet lived above the dead line of poverty. I know we think we do. I live in a country that has boasted of its wealth, but in the greatest and wealthiest cities there are millions of people who live in crowded tenement houses. I have believed it would be a good thing if every family in the United States had a home house that cost, let us say, $10,000. I like to live in a house costing that much. I don't find that it corrupts my morals or lowers my ideals, or that I want to quit and cease work because of it. Many of you live in houses that cost that much and you are surviving the effects of it, and probably others would just as well. We estimate in the United States having 250,000,000,000 of dollars and there are twenty million families. It would cost $200,000,000,000 to build homes for them at $10,000 per family, and would use up practically all our wealth.

There is no country yet that has had money enough to give a good home to all of its people, so that its children may not need to be born in cellars and be crowded in garrets, and live down in ugly, dirty streets. No country yet where there has not been some people who were hungry, some who were cold in the winter time, some who died because there was not sufficient medical attention. There is no country yet that I have travelled in where they have been able to build highways and bridge their streams so that they may travel one day as well as another, and not be bound in the prison walls of mud and water.

I find in every country that I travel through that there are little hovels on the mountain side yonder, and dirty places in the little village, and many of them are not places of civic pride to those who live there and those of the country side who come to them. I believe there is not too much money until you have money enough to do all of these things, money enough to give surcease, or wealth enough to give surcease from toil to the great masses of people who labor, so that they may go out and see a bit of this great world in which they live for a little while; and not too much wealth until they have wealth enough to pay their teachers and their preachers; and for all to live a good, honest, upright life, without the fear of poverty hanging over them, and able to do all of the things that will be necessary. Now, if that is true, then my formula holds.

Let me ask you, for instance, what is it that created the wealth of these modern years? Is it because we are stronger, or is it because through our knowledge of the forces of nature, through the things that come from education in one way or another, we have been able to work to better advantage? Have you stood, for instance, upon a railroad track and watched the train go by? It stops there and after a while the engineer, or the engineman, pulls a lever and the train starts. What power of muscle he has in his arm? It was not the power of his arm, it was a mathematical formula learned in the school that started it along. So it is elsewhere. It gives to the natural resources their real value. May I tell you a few instances that illustrate this for me? I am going to take them from my own native State, and you can apply them here.

Some years ago, I was travelling from the City of Knoxville to Nashville, Tennessee, and I stopped in a little hotel where you could get a 25 cent meal for 50 cents. (Laughter.) That was about all there was there, and I looked out while I was waiting for a train, over a little field of bottom land, and I said to the proprietor, "What is that land worth as farming land?" He said: "The man who owns it has just refused $200 for it." And I could remember when it could have been bought for $20, and my father could remember when it could have been bought for $2, and my grandfather could remember when it was bought and sold for practically nothing. What has given it this value? It was on the railroad, and across the river there was a great bridge spanning it, and the railroad trains came in there, and others had invented labor saving machinery on the farms —the planter and the reaper and the harvester and the threshing machine; and that railroad carried the result, the product of that field, out to the city, and out to New York and across to the sea; and then the ships carried it to feed the hungry millions elsewhere; and for that reason land that had been worth $2 an acre had grown to $20 and then to $200, and it will probably cost twice as much now. But, as you stand there and watch the train go by, it is plastered over from smokestack to caboose with certificates of graduates from public schools and from high schools and colleges and technical schools, and no illiterate, uneducated man ever did anything for it, except the man who lifted up his pick and put it down where a trained engineer told him to do so. (Applause.)

I was born in the Southern Confederacy. It soon went to pieces and the people were reduced to poverty, and I can remember when my mother used to weave cloth, in a somewhat expert manner, on a hand loom. We had no money to buy things of the kind with. She could weave her four yards of cloth a day. The other day I was in a cotton factory down in the Southern States, and I said, where are the hands, the laborers, the operators? They were not there. I said how many do you need in here, and he said one woman, or girl, for every eighteen looms and a boy for every eighteen hundred spinners. Those looms would weave in a day 1,200 yards of cloth, and that woman standing there watching them would weave as many yards in a day as my mother, a rather expert weaver as she got to be, could weave in all the days of her years. Was it because this woman had better native intelligence? Was it because even she herself was better educated? I looked at those machines, capitalized intellect they were; scientific formulæ had gone into them, and I watched them as they wove the cloth, and when a thread would break they had sense enough to stop and wait until the thread was attached again; or a bobbin was out and it could put in its own bobbin and go ahead again; and out in the warping room the same thing, giving a value to it.

I know where a piece of land sold at one time for 2 cents an acre, a large body of land. You can buy it now for $30 an acre if you will take it all. It was just timber land. What gave it the additional value? Railroads were built through it. Men trained in the schools invented the band-saw, others invented planing machines and other machinery used in making furniture, and that timber can be brought out to the world, and it can be used in making things of comfort in our homes, things of luxury for your palaces, and for that reason it took on this value.

I told this story last night, about an acre of land—not an acre, but a piece of land in New York which was sold some years ago at the rate of $33,000,000 an acre. What gave it its value? Was it because it was more fertile than it had been. Was it because it had changed its position? Or was it because of the schools of the United States educating the people, with other educated people of a continent behind it, and the railroads radiating from it, and the people trained as agriculturists, producing the harvest out in the West, and from the mines taking the raw material, the ore, and smelting it and making it into pig iron and then into steel, and then working it up till it comes down by canal and river to the seaport, and great ocean going steamers, going from that port to all the ports of the world; and men have made the subways and the trains go ten, fifteen or twenty miles an hour carrying people out, and surface cars and elevated trains; and have made structural steel and erected buildings fifty stories high on it, and you can afford to pay $33,000,000 because it is the centre of an intellectual net work of the nation.

What gives a value to land anywhere, at any place? Why it depends on what you can do with it. A good illustration we had some years ago out in Kansas. The western part of Kansas was rapidly settled in those early days; a wave of people went out there and then they began to recede and move back East or go further West, because they found with lack of rains they could grow their crops only one year in four or five. Then the experts of agriculture, working at it, found the process of dry farming by deep plowing and by conserving the water one year for use the next, and the lands which had gone down to $5 or $10 an acre jumped to be worth $25, or $45, or $50 an acre. If you have an acre of land out there and it will, with a certain amount of labor, grow 20 bushels of wheat, the labor costs you 15 bushels and the profit is 5 bushels, the land is worth therefore that value of 5 bushels of wheat per year. If, by greater knowledge or more skilful handling, if by understanding the fertility of the soil better, if by a process of selecting better seed you can make it, with the same amount of labor, produce 25 bushels, then the value of the land per acre doubles, because you get twice as much clear profit on it; and so it runs for all of it. A good illustration you have in your Niagara River here. I used to go to see that and I wondered at the beauty of it. I saw it as it leaped and roared over the Falls, and on to the sea it went. But now, in the process of engineering you are harnessing it, and a man told me yesterday that his wife, half way across the province, was milking her cow by the falls of the Niagara yonder. (Laughter.)

There is another side to this question of education and wealth. If by knowledge of the forces of nature, if by controlling them we may make them do our work, if we produce wealth so that we may gain some leisure, if we can make those forces of nature our obedient servants, then it makes possible a higher type of education that comes through leisure. We have all admired that beautiful culture of Athens. Ten thousand citizens free, with their beautiful culture that we still admire; a flower growing out of the dung-heap of the vices of humanity below; for each free man ten slaves; but with our modern ideals we cannot repeat that. We have come to the time of democracy and slavery has gone. No longer will a man eat his bread in the sweat of another man's face; no longer is it thought to lay the lash of unrequited toil on the back of another. But, if you can make Niagara Falls work for you, if you can make the chemistry of the soil do your bidding, if you may harness the winds, if you may make the electric current your messengers around the world, if you can make expanding steam and contracting steel do ten times, a thousand times as much as contracting muscle, then every man may have more than his ten slaves. He may have his hundred or thousand slaves to do his work and he is no longer a slave to his own material needs and it is possible to shorten the hours of labor. We have already got to something like eight hours and we are working in places on shorter hours still.

I remember years ago crossing from Norway, or Sweden rather, across to Scotland, and on board the ship was a man from Glasgow. Glasgow was then the one example City of the world. It had its eight-hour day and its half holiday on Saturday. I was talking with a business man about the condition there and I said it must be a great thing for the common people. What liberty it gives for the laboring man to have this half day on Saturday and all of Sunday. His reply was, "It is a curse to them, because they don't know how to use the time." He said, "The only thing they know to do is to get drunk and sober up by Monday." I think he was slandering *a part* of the city at least. (Laughter.) But it is true, unless you give them something else, if you may gain the time then it is possible for us to have a culture as sweet, as enobling, as high, as idealistic as was that of Athens or any country. We knew it in the southern States to an extent, where those planters had their fine kind of culture and their beautiful hospitable ways, supported by the labor of slaves; but, with a knowledge of the forces of nature, with the power of adjustment, with the ability to control, we can make these forces do our bidding; we have the power as Gods to transform and harness them and make them minister to our material needs, and so to free us for conversation, for thought, for reflection, for music, for art, for architecture, for all the things that make life really worth living, and to bring about the things I spoke about in the beginning as being the only true end of life, the culture, refinement and deepening of the soul. (Prolonged applause.)

Gentlemen, if your applause means you think what I said is true, the only thing I can say is what is said of an orator of olden times—of course I am not an orator—but they listened to one orator and they said, "What beautiful periods"; but when they heard the other they said, "Go, fight filth." If you believe what I said is true put your money into the schools of this good province of Ontario until there shall be no forgotten child of man, and no lost waif of a child, and until there shall be no individual who has not developed all the talent that he has, to do the work of building your part of the new world in the new democratic civilization. (Applause.)

THE TIE THAT BINDS

AN ADDRESS BY HENRY R. RATHBONE, ESQ.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, May 1, 1919.

THE CHAIRMAN: As a rule, gentlemen, I stay away from lawyers just as long as I can, because experience has taught me that it costs money to come too closely into association with them. However, it was due to the courtesy and kindness of the then President of the Ontario Bar Association, Mr. Harding, that I was privileged to attend the annual banquet of that organization in February last, and owing specially to the fact, perhaps I should say because of the fact that most of those present were lawyers, I spent a very profitable and enjoyable evening. We had an excellent banquet and several fine speakers, and just about the time that we began to realize that things were dry and prohibition obtained in the Province of Ontario, Mr. Henry R. Rathbone flashed across the horizon and from that moment on, for thirty or thirty-five minutes, we listened in rapt attention to one of the most eloquent addresses we have ever listened to in Toronto. (Applause.) There are some business men who say that the worker is not a talker, and *vice versa;* but that is a failure as far as our distinguished guest is concerned, because not only is he one of the most eloquent speakers in the United States, but he has been one of the most inde-

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Mr. Rathbone was one of the outstanding figures at the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Bar Association held in Toronto early in 1919. He has filled many important public and political positions and during the war devoted his entire time to various lines of Patriotic work. He is a warm friend of Great Britain and her Allies and has done much to promote closer relations between Great Britain and the United States.

fatigable workers in connection with the war since it began. I doubt very much whether any man in the United States has done more in eloquent speaking than he; or done more really practical work than Mr. Rathbone. I now have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Rathbone to address us on the "Tie that Binds." (Applause.)

HENRY R. RATHBONE, ESQ.: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—I thank you sincerely for this cordial reception. I feel that I may regard it as another indication of that kindly spirit that you entertain for my country and my countrymen. (Applause.) Unity of the Anglo-Saxon race is to-day the hope of the world. (Applause.) Not unity of government, no one dreams of such a thing; no such sentiment exists. Not even uniformity of manners, customs, laws; for variety within reasonable bounds is always good for men and nations. The unity I have in mind is something far deeper than that, a unity of purposes, of ideals, of souls. (Applause.) Britain and America occupy to-day a unique place on this globe. They form, as it were a natural partnership, capable of moulding the fates and shaping the destinies of mankind. To no other nation or nations is there given at this crisis of the world's history such an opportunity and such a responsibility. They are the twin pillars that uphold, and must continue to uphold, the world's temple of progress, prosperity and peace. (Applause.) These are broad statements, I realize, and perhaps you are asking on what do I base them. Four reasons I will assign.

First, these two nations are by far the mightiest in this world. They have emerged from the great conflict the least damaged of any of the active belligerents. Look at the fate of others: Germany is prostrate in the dust, Austria is no more. Russia is throttled by Bolshevism and drenched with blood. China, with her more than four hundred millions is only turning in her sleep and not yet awakened from the dream of ages. Japan is awakened, active, enterprising, aggressive; but no yellow race can ever assume the leadership of the dominant white races of this world. (Applause.) And our Allies

—gallant Italy is staggering under the immense burden imposed by this war. Heroic France—that we all love and honor for her gallant struggle—(Applause.) her fields are devastated, her best industries destroyed. She, too, has a mountain of debt to carry, and besides with forty millions of people, no matter how brilliant and active they may be, they cannot expect leadership beside the hundreds of millions of the British Empire and the United States of America. (Applause.) It is true that these two great peoples in accumulated wealth, in natural resources, in the energy of their peoples, and above all in the great room for future growth and development—these two stand to-day splendidly supreme among the nations of the world.

Second, Britain and America have demonstrated that they possess the genius for government. They have shown that they have been able to solve the great problem which has been the despair of political philosophers from Aristotle to De Tocqueville, viz., how to join immense size with freedom and efficiency. In saying these things I cast no slur on other governments; I wish to honor and be fair to all. I recognize such a country as Switzerland, and what her government has done for the contentment and prosperity of its people. But nevertheless, after all has been said, this remains true: the two great nations Britain and America are the ones of all the nations of the world that have been successful in giving practical scope and success on a large scale to the principle of federation. Look at the British Empire; before this great war came, there were men, enemies most of them of that Empire, who said as Professor Rudolph Eucken and Treitschke in his work said "The British Empire is a sham; there is no Imperial Tie; at the first blow it will fall asunder." And then they reached forth the mailed hand to tear it asunder, and what happened? The next moment they saw, astounded, the loyal sons of Britain from all over the globe rise up in defence of the Mother Land across the seas. They saw her loyal sons rushing from Canada, from India, from South Africa; from Australia, from New Zealand, from the farthest islands of the sea, from the remotest corners of the earth, ready to lay down their lives, their treasure and their all on the altar of their common country. (Applause.) Then the whole world realized the great truth that the foundations of empire are not found in constitutions or statutes, in law books or musty parchments, nor are they found in armies and navies, but in the hearts and souls of men. (Applause.) You remember the old fable of the contest between the wind and the sun, as to which should prevail in making the traveller cast aside his cloak. The wind tried first with all its fury, but the wayfarer only drew his cloak all the more tightly about himself for protection. Then came the sun with its mild radiance, and the cloak was cast aside as a useless incumbrance. That marks the difference between the old time Imperialism of Rome and the Imperialism of Germany, if you will, founded on the principle of might, the strong arm of power, and that mild radiance of British Rule, equitable and just, that has been able to accomplish what all the fierce blustering of the tempest in vain essayed. We realize the great truth, as Edmund Burke said "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the surest wisdom; and a great Empire and little minds go ill together." There has been established somehow between these scattered peoples all over the globe, that constitute this great Empire, a tie stronger than human hands or law can impose, a tie light as air, but strong as bands of iron. And is not the same thing to be said truthfully of the United States. Go back with me into her history, when we were only a few scattered colonies and were groping about for some closer tie, thinking of forming a constitution, and many of the wise men of that day shook their heads and said you can never take these colonies, scattered as they are, and weld them together into one great nation. But gentlemen we did do so, and it has stood the test of time for over one hundred years, and the storms of war, and it stands greater and stronger to-day than ever before. (Applause.) And now every day the leaven is working. Right in my own home; I have seen the movement for the Americanization of the foreigners among us, and welding them into the body and soul of our people. What does that mean? It means the insistence on the English language as our language, (Applause.) and the fundamental principles of Anglo-Saxon law and freedom as our principles. That spirit has gone forth and shown itself in the Pan-American Union of the twelve republics belonging to Central and South America, and it has already brought about results, and Britain and America have dedicated this entire Western Hemisphere as a land of peace. Our boundary line of over three thousand miles is unguarded by a warship, a soldier, a fort or a gun to-day, (Applause.) because of the genius of our people for wise and honest government.

Thirdly, the British Empire and the United States are natural Allies; there is a tie that naturally binds them together. What does that mean to the human race at this time? It means, oh, how much! that the two mightiest nations of the world are the very ones that ought to be able to work to the best advantage, and in harmony together! (Applause.) We realize that this situation has been growing and developing for years; quietly, unobtrusively it has been coming. Our early disputes as to boundaries were settled; Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, Lord Bulwer and Clayton settled them. At times relations were strained, for instance during our Civil War when the Trent Affair took place. But thank God, across the seas was England's Noble Queen and Her Royal Consort, (Applause) who modified the somewhat unconciliatory and harsh tone of the message; and a man on this side of the ocean whose fame has been growing year by year throughout the world, Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.) When the jingoes cried out for war and to sustain Admiral Wilkes in his capture of Mason and Slidell, Lincoln said "No, to do so would be to repudiate the very principles we have been contending for four years. We cannot afford to, and we will not, take a stand in favor of the wrong." These are the things that cement and unite the friendship of nations. As Emerson said "We have a great deal more of kindness than is ever spoken." I picked up an old book of my father's the other day "Greater Britain," by Sir Charles Dilke, published in 1866, after his visit to America, and there he tells of a little incident. He had met a Southerner, who at once started on a terrific tirade against England, and then he said, "But before you leave this country, you must come and visit me," and Sir Charles comments upon that as showing the underlying feeling beneath the surface, of friendship. And in that great book by James Bryce, one of the most illuminating treatises in all the world on the subject of nations, the American Commonwealth, his first sentence has a deep significance. The question that is asked of the British visitor in the United States is "What do you think of our institutions?" Lord Bryce attempts to account for that by saying that he supposes the American institutions were regarded as especially novel and of especial interest to all the world. No doubt that is true but there is another explanation: To my mind, that question when asked by an American showed that under the surface the American people valued the good opinion of their neighbors across the seas, and what speaks more loudly of friendship than that? All these things are working towards a great result. You remember that incident, when suddenly during the Spanish War the Philippine Islands were laid as a waif at the door of the United States. We had our White Man's Burden then, as you have had it for years. We meant to meet that duty and that responsibility. Then came the German with his swashbuckling, saber-rattling policy, and wanted to reach forth and seize these islands, and Admiral Dewey sent the German Admiral that message that if he wanted war, he could have war, and then a significant thing happened: At the hour of crisis a British War vessel took its station beside the fleet of the United States, and made known to the world that the solidarity and friendship of the Anglo-Saxon race was a fact assured. (Applause.) Gentlemen, realizing what this friendship means to ourselves and all humanity, it will be our fault if we do not do all in our power to maintain and cement it.

Fourthly, these two nations are the moral nations of the world. (Applause.) Now don't misunderstand me. Neither your country nor mine wishes to play the part of the national pharisee standing on the street corner with a sneer, and thanking God that we are not as the publicans and sinners of other lands. We do not claim any monopoly of virtue. We pay tribute to noble standards everywhere. But what I do mean is this: I mean that in our international relations, the people of the British Empire and the United States are actuated by purer motives, and inspired by loftier ideals than the people of any other countries. (Applause.) In the magnanimity and forbearance that they both have shown for conquered people, in their scorn to exploit them, or to try to turn them to account to their own selfish advantage, they stand alone. What other nations in the world at this time are so honestly seeking not their own good but the good of all? There is but one answer. Britain has moulded this great Empire together through the bonds of justice and through wise rule. Gentlemen, pardon me, for the last thing that I wish to do to-day is to be bombastic or boastful on behalf of my country, realizing that it has defects. But still I want to say this for the United States: Haven't we kept our word in our international relations? (Applause.) When we sprang to the rescue of suffering Cuba, our Congress passed the Platt Amendment, saying our sole purpose was to give freedom to Cuba and let her have free government. When we won that prize, then the voice came of selfishness, whispering "You have the pearl of the Antilles; you have one of the richest spots on earth; disregard your promise, given without consideration, and keep what you have." The American Congress and the American people rose above that, and said "We have given our plighted word, and we are going to keep it; we will free Cuba." (Applause.) What have we done in the Philippines? We have done as you have done with your dependencies. We have reached forth and raised a barbarous people out of darkness into the sunlight of freedom. In these islands where once there was nothing but venality and corruption and misrule and ignorance and oppression and tyranny, now we can see homes and churches and schools and books and the vision of a free and enlightened people. (Applause.) Again we dug the Panama Canal, and it cost a tremendous sum of money. It was what Lord Bryce has called "The greatest liberty that man has taken with nature." Then again interest whispered "Keep it"; don't give other nations the same advantages and the same rights that you have given to yourselves, disregard the old treaties." Gentlemen, I ask you if we did not rise above that? If Britain and all the nations of the world have not been treated fairly in that respect? (Applause.) The moral law must be the foundation-stone of any permanent peace. From time to time peoples and rulers have exclaimed "Away with this moral law, it is but a scrap of paper, let us tread it under foot, let us wipe it out." But, gentlemen, the moral law has always risen again, and we can never have a League of Nations unless it is founded on that principle as the corner-stone. (Applause.) When that time comes, then we will be ready to adopt this as the maxim of our international conduct. *"Nothing can be right between nations that is wrong between men."* (Applause.) Then we will have, and not until then, the Federation of the world.

At this critical hour let us not make a mistake—It is so easy to do it. It is so easy to feel a reaction after the great struggle and all its sacrifices. Gentlemen, as that thought came to me, I read the words of the closing sentences of the great essay of Ralph Waldo Emerson, on "Self-Reliance," that I think marks the high water mark of my country's literature, in which he speaks of how men gamble with fate. We have all been gambling with this dreadful game of the iron dice of war. He says "A political victory, a rise of rents, the recovery of your sick, the return of your absent friend or some other favorable event raises your spirits and you think good times are preparing for you. Do not believe it. Nothing can give you peace but yourself. Nothing can give you peace but the triumph of principles." That was said of the individual man but it is true also of nations. No matter how we may glory in the great victory, no matter if we think good times are coming and we can let down in our efforts, don't believe it. The League of Nations cannot accomplish it alone; nothing can give peace to this world but ourselves, the people of these two great nations. Nothing can give us permanent peace but the triumph of principles. These are the things that are going to make this league permanent and possible. It must come by the gradual process of evolution. As it is now, Britain and the United States form the natural nucleus of this league of nations; they are the centre, the core around which it may be grouped, nation by nation, adhering to it as by a process of natural crystallization. Then you will at least form a sound and enduring league, a temple of peace that will be founded not on the ever shifting sands of selfishness and greed, but on the eternal rock of the Anglo-Saxon world-justice and liberty, and there it will stand forever. (Applause.) To my mind, this problem, complex as it may seem, is after all plain and simple. I would reduce it to just this one thought: If Britain and America stand together for the right, no combination of nations in the world dare oppose them for the wrong. (Applause.) How shall we bring about this great result, this consummation that we all so devoutly wish for? Well, the first thing to do is to recognize its importance, to realize what it really means for this world. Then again let us watch the small things of life. Oh, it is the little pin pricks, more than the stab of the dagger that can bring about pain and suffering. Gentlemen, let our attitude toward each other be right, neither cringing nor truckling. I am against both Anglophobia and Anglomania, but I am heart and soul for Anglo-Saxondom. There is no suspicion among us of superior or inferior; we meet as equals, as men of honor to mould and shape the destinies of mankind, and we can do it. Let us help in every way we can.

We have stood together. Reason advocates this partnership, and friendship and sentiment bid us follow in that course. My country and yours have stood shoulder to shoulder in this most tremendous conflict of all history. Our enemies, yours and mine, said the same thing of your country and of my country before the war came. They said "Neither Britain nor America can fight." But we showed them; when I say "we" I mean both equally. We gathered our raw levies from the factory and the field and the counting-house and the farm. In a few months we trained them, equipped them, and sent them across three thousand miles of ocean, something that had never been done before in the history of the world. Our boys, yours and mine, were pitted, not against the poorest, but against the best men that they had on the other side. They met in battle the famous Prussian Guards and they sent those Guards reeling backwards towards Berlin in defeat; I am proud of our boys. (Cheers.) Side by side our boys lay in the wet and mud and cold of the trenches of Europe; side by side in the hospitals of pain. Side by side they stood guard. Side by side they leapt over the top and charged across no man's land in the storm of shot and shell. Side by side, at this moment, gentlemen, they sleep there in that foreign soil, and the harvest of spring is above their union in the grave. If they were comrades in arms, we ought to be friends in peace. Oh, let us pay no attention to any loose talk on either side of the border. There is but one attitude for any reasonable, right-minded honest man to take. It is just like a great football game. All the players assist, those that sustain the onslaught of the enemy, those that drive the ball toward the goal, those that finally kick the goal, there is glory enough for all. America does not claim all the glory. Pay no attention to that. Any loose talk like that does not represent the spirit and thought of my people. (Applause.) We do not claim to have won the war, but we do claim to have helped to win the war. (Applause.) I for one have but one sentiment for the soldiers, living and dead, British and American; cheers for the living and tears for the dead. They were gallant and brave men; they all performed glorious deeds; they all are entitled to eternal gratitude from a rescued world. Let that cement our bonds of friendship forever. Let us draw together more closely without suspicion. Send us the best that you have of your heart and soul and brain and we will welcome them. Come and visit us in our country. Let us interchange. Let your universities and schools draw more closely together with ours. As a college man, a graduate of Yale, I know what that meant with Harvard and Princeton. Let us have our athletics together. Let us have our debates. Send us your splendid speakers, as you have been doing, but give us more and we will try and send them to you. Let the public press of both countries speak and try to interpret the best that is in the soul of each nation to the other. (Applause.)

De Quincey, in one of his essays speaks of the "Glorious English Language,"—the common heritage of us all; he says that a man ought to be willing to circumnavigate the globe, to endure suffering and sacrifice to maintain that English language in its pristine purity, and in its unimpaired vigor. If that is true of the English language, how much more is it true of the Anglo-Saxon race to-day throughout the globe? Every man ought to be willing to do his share. I for one, speaking for myself, in your presence to-day would regard it as a privilege to be able to go forth carrying the message; if any feeble words of mine anywhere spoken could tend to cement that feeling of friendship, I would be glad to do it. (Applause.) I welcome and appreciate this invitation to be here to-day. If any words of mine have reached fertile soil I am amply repaid. Let us work together, realizing what this means to the human race. So gentlemen, I bid you farewell, I leave off as I began—Britain and America, comrades in arms, descendants and brothers of the same lineage, champions of the same ideals the world over. Let their glorious banners, side by side, lead the nations of the world in one great, harmonious, triumphal procession towards a glorious destiny. *Britain and America, now and forever, the hope of the world.* (Cheers, long continued.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been a great pleasure, indeed, to welcome such a distinguished gentleman as the speaker of the day. I am sure, however, he will not mind if I say to him that it is an equal pleasure to welcome back to our club one of our old members in the person of Major Geary. (Applause.) I am going to ask Major Geary if he will, on behalf of the club, present our thanks to the speaker.

MAJOR REGINALD GEARY: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It has been very inspiring to hear the words that have fallen from Mr. Rathbone here to-day. In these days when peace seems almost trembling in the balance it must help and assist these two great nations, Britain and the United States, to come together in common effort to have their ideals expressed so eloquently, before an audience so representative as this.

Sir, I have much pleasure on behalf of the Empire Club in giving you our heartfelt thanks for your attendance here to-day. Your words have fallen, I am sure, on fertile soil, they will bear results. You can feel assured that your effort to-day has not been wasted. You have come here at some sacrifice to yourself, and I can only say to you on behalf of this large gathering that we do, one and all, immensely appreciate your coming here, and the words you have so eloquently said in your inspiring address. (Applause.)

THE ONE THING NEEDFUL

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR JOHN MACNAUGHTON, M.A., LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, May 15, 1919.

After an introduction by President Stapells, in which he referred to importations from Scotland, including importations of educationists, Prof. Macnaughton said:

Gentlemen, I will not deny that I am Scotch; it would not be any good, because you would very soon find out for yourselves. I suppose Canada has been following the precepts of our British economists in importing so many Scotchmen to look after education here. They have bought in the cheapest, whether they have been able to sell in the dearest market or not. (Laughter.) I am glad to come to Toronto; I hope as the chairman has said, to spend the rest of my teaching life here; it will not, I think, be very long. I believe there is more doing in my particular line of business here than in any other part of Canada, that is to say, in the ancient classics. I dare say that will not strike many of you with much enthusiasm. (Laughter.) But I believe in the mission of the ancient classics, and I believe there is perhaps nothing of greater importance than holding up that end of the stick in Canada. (Applause.) I have a firm belief in that. I

Professor MacNaughton was born in Perthshire, Scotland, and was educated at Aberdeen and Cambridge Universities, afterwards studying Theology at Edinburgh. In 1890 he came to Queen's College as Professor of Greek, later occupying the Chair of Church History. For some years he has been Protessor of Classics at McGill University. An intense student himself he has instilled a tremendous amount of enthusiasm into his pupils, over whom he has wielded a great influence. He came to the University of Toronto as Professor of Latin in the fall of 1919.

believe it is an apostolic mission for anybody that can do it—though my qualifications in that way are of a slight enough character—to do what he can to promote in Canada the knowledge of antiquities, and keep that old educational flag on the staff.

But it is quite impossible just now to get off the subject of the war. Every day one sees things that remind him of it. It will take us about a year, I fancy, to relegate it to a comparatively secondary place in our thought, and you will excuse me if I take advantage of this opportunity of saying some things which I have on my heart. This is my first opportunity of addressing a Toronto audience since the gentlemen of the University have done me the honor of appointing me to the chair held so long by my dear old friend Fletcher, one of the finest men I ever knew, one of my best friends in the world.

Take a glance over the last few years. I remember when the war broke out an event happened. It had for me the full proportions of an event, and it cheered me very much indeed. A great American, Henry James—brother of William, another great American—took in 1914 an extraordinary step for a good American such as he was, who had spent a very great part of his time and energy during the course of a very long life, in trying to explain to the English-speaking world the finer points of the American character. This great and good and convinced American took the extraordinary step in 1914 of becoming a British subject. (Applause.) Gentlemen, it was because he was so good an American that he became a British subject. (Applause.) It was because he was so thoroughly penetrated by the principles of the Declaration of Independence; it was because he knew that whoever might be doing the talking about it, there was one people that was doing the fighting for it, and that was not too proud to fight for it, one people that was fighting and suffering for it, and that was the English people, one people that was fighting and suffering to maintain the principle that all men, even Serbians, had the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in their own way. (Applause.) That was why Henry James became a

British subject. And really, many of the best of his country are going his way. I think President Wilson, himself, whose education has been rapidly completed, will end up something like that. He is going on at a wonderfully good rate. He is a capital man, if you give him time. (Applause.) But what I wish particularly to say is that when he took that extraordinary and yet most natural and appropriate step under the circumstances, Henry James made a certain remark which went to the heart. He said that he had lived for a very long time in England, and that he had always liked and respected the English people, "but never until now," said he, "did I know how deep was my love and admiration for that decent and dauntless people." Gentlemen, that is the finest and truest description, and isn't it a good omen that it came from an American? Observe, he did not say that they were a clever people. (Laughter.) He did not say that they were a quick-witted people; he could not have said that truthfully; (Laughter.) it takes a tremendous time to get anything through their wool. For a long time look at them and you seem to see only a slow smouldering fire, but do not quench the smoking flax, wait a while, give them a little time, and before it is over there is a fire, a conflagration, that draws the eyes of men and angels. How they came romping in at the finish of this war. Let us not dwell upon that too much. I think the world will admit that they made a gallant show especially at the end. What a great national effort that was! What grandeur, what majesty there was in it! A people who, going about their ordinary business, not at all a military people, though quite a very warlike people, suddenly plunged into this terrific convulsion that came upon them like a thief in the night. Before it was over they had raised eight million men throughout the Empire, counting the splendid contributions of Canada and Australia and the others; they had fought from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, and wherever they fought, well, we will only say they gave a very good account of themselves. One might be tempted to say that it was like reinforced concrete where they were, and they were mostly the thin steel rod. However, don't let us boast. It is difficult to avoid it. They threw everything into the furnace, their comfort, they cut down their follies and their boys and girls and old men and old women went to work in munition works. They threw in their merchant fleet, diverted it from the ordinary business of peace to the great danger and great damage of their trade and their industry. They spared nothing. It was a great spectacle, great England stripped to the back, nay, to the bone fighting in the cause of human liberty. (Applause.) It was a great spectacle. I really think that history will say that there has been no national effort like it since the foundation of the world. (Applause.) And it was the glory of Canada that she came in without the slightest hesitation (Applause.) by the side of the old Mother whom we loved a great deal more than we knew, in spite of her queer ways. We were very conscious of them in times of peace, very conscious of them; but when the old girl got into real trouble——. That was the glory of Canada. Canada might very well have stayed out and saved her face beautifully; what a chance we had. Canada could have played the elegant role of the sweet young thing that was perfectly willing to do anything that was not too unladylike, anything at all that did not require you to open your mouth any wider than to say Papa, Mama, potatoes, prunes, prisms, anything extremely ladylike. We could have said, with some truth, that our best way of saving the Empire was in that sort of way. Oh, but we had our young hot heads that could not be kept back. Thank God we had those young hot heads. We could have saved our face and lost our soul. (Applause.) Thank God we did not do it, and I need not tell you what a part Canada has taken in this war, but one thing I should like to say which is not half sufficiently understood. It is pretty generally admitted that there was no large body of men among any of the belligerents at all which in all round fighting quality were superior or even equal to the Canadian Army Corps. (Applause.) That is pretty generally admitted. But it is not necessary to dwell on that, we all know that, that in every respect

Canada did well, but gentlemen remember this; I am a Scotchman and I should like to put in, just by way of parenthesis, that Canada sent in all 400,000 men to fight, and old Scotland, which has a population of only three to four millions, sent 600,000. (Applause.) And all the old fishermen were out sweeping for mines, all the old fishermen—lazy old dogs, you could scarcely get them out to sweep for herrings, but they will sweep for mines with joy if you give them five shillings a day and a glass of whiskey. (Laughter.) Yes, Canada did nobly, but what I wish to point out is one element in her contribution that has not, I think, been sufficiently recognized. And that is this: Gentlemen, I scarcely think it is too much to say that we in a sense morally annexed our excellent neighbors the Americans. They have for a long time been talking about annexing us one way or another. They want to do it by peaceful penetration, they would not do anything rude or homicidal, but they would like to annex us; they are astonished that we have not long ago seen how vastly it would be to our advantage, both as regards culture and profit, to come in with them. Well, it is a curious thing; it has turned out exactly the other way. We morally annexed them. There were two things above all that drove them into the war. First of all, there was the Prussian jackboot, kicking them from behind. They stood an unparallelled series of insults. They did show patience which was perfectly marvelous in that way—something good about it, but something queer. There was something admirable about it, admirable patience, but it went beyond the power of a Scotchman to understand. (Laughter.) The Americans came in; a proud and high-spirited people like them really could not stand it any longer; they could not possibly take another speck of dirt, not another speck. When the Germans kindly told them they would be permitted to send across that sea which England has kept open for them for the last hundred years, with open doors and open ports on the other side where they could sell whatever they liked, even to the prejudice of the English manufacturers, when the Germans said that that sea which had been as free as the sky and the air to them for the last hundred years, would be open to them on the following conditions, that once every ten days they could send a ship to Falmouth Haven along a specified track, provided they hung great red lights over her stern, and painted enormous red and white stripes down her stern—why then, gentlemen, it was too picturesque. (Laughter.) They did not reckon on the American sense of humor. With their Teutonic delicacy which they have so abundantly and colossally exemplified on so many occasions, they got in their allusion to the national flag. They got the stripes in, but where were the stars? They would have been sunk in infamy forever, but thank God, that wakened up a great and proud and generous people. The stars blazed out as they never had done in the history of America before, and from that moment the fate of the bully was sealed. (Applause.) But as I said, it was not only this intolerable series of insults which could no longer be borne; it was not that only, there was a nobler thing, a nobler cause and influence bearing on our neighbors, and that was not the Prussian jackboot behind but the star of Canada going on before. (Applause.) Nobody will ever know what an influence that was. They do not like to say much about it, but it had a tremendous influence. How could it fail? That a little people like us, whom they used to consider as the inhabitants of their back yard, should out of its seven millions have at that time 300,000 volunteers, men whom Canadian mothers had sent out as young knights. We had 400,000 thanks to that splendid last election of ours, which is one of the brightest glories in the history of Canada—but at that time we had 300,000 men; how could they help reflecting, how could they help thinking that it really was an astonishing thing that the continent of liberty should be represented on the great battlefield where the fight of human liberty was being fought as it never had been before in the history of the world, not even at Marathon and Salamis, how could they help thinking that it was time that there should be some other representatives of that continent, as well as the 300,000 crusaders from

Canada? It was time that out of their 110,000,000, some reasonably approximate proportion should begin to prepare to think about getting ready to take their share. (Laughter.) And so they came in, and that was the greatest service Canada did to the Empire in the war. I tell you what Canada did; Canada fulfilled her Heaven-appointed mission, Canada fulfilled her providential and predestined function, and that is what? What is the predestined function of Canada? Gentlemen, it is to be a link between the two separate branches of the great English-speaking race. (Applause.) To be a binding power and influence that gathers them together into one bundle of life. We have a lot to learn from our neighbors to the south. In many ways you find among them the very best specimens of our race. I have known Americans who were among the finest specimens of the English-speaking people to be found anywhere, American men, and particularly American women—really I think that is almost their specialty, although the men did their best to spoil them. We understand the Americans, we are good friends, we get along well with them, we know their ways. And we understand the English people too, though they are very much more difficult to understand and have a great many very quaint ways that take a lot of knowing and a lot of getting accustomed to. I think most of us agree with that; most Scotchmen do anyway. And yet at bottom, what good stuff they are! My gracious, just think how that people, who have never sacrificed one grain of frankincense to the graces, who have not the lovely Irish way of blarney, who cannot tell anything that is not rigidly and stupidly true, who get a poker shot up their back in their infancy, how in spite of all these quaint and curious qualities, the Englishman has nevertheless imposed himself on the universe. He has done it by brute force of honesty. (Applause.) Brute force of honesty and valor and decency; that is how he has done it; let us admit it. He is a decent fellow, he is a just man, he hates a lie and he hates cruelty. We know the Americans and we get along perfectly well with them, and we understand the Englishmen and get along fairly well with them, and we respect them. Our mission is to keep these two great peoples together, upon whom, I do believe, the decency and righteousness of this world depend more than upon any other people. (Applause.) Not that they are any better than other people, but somehow they are strong and in the union of them, if they two go hand in hand together, and if they rise to the height of their national responsibility, if they play the part in the advance of liberty and justice and righteousness in the world, that they were meant to play, if these two peoples march side by side, then a great part of the Kingdom of God will be realized upon this earth, and all the peoples, including Ireland, will have justice done to them. (Applause.)

That is what Canada has done and that is what Canada could do, and that is what England has done. And the Americans have done very well too. They have not done nearly so well as they imagine; it is merely a sort of epidemic and eruption, a kind of measles of self-complacency that has broken out so terribly among them. A little while ago I saw in Montreal a movie—of course it came from the United States; they all do, that is part of their peaceful penetration. By the way, I wanted to say that is Canada's job, but in order to do it, in order to act in that way as a *tertium quid,* as some third thing, remember Canada has to hold on to her individuality and independence. We are not going to be Englishmen, and we are not going to be Americans, we are going to be neither the one nor the other, but something that binds the two together, something different from both and better if possible than either. (Applause.)

Now for our friends the Americans we must make great allowances. Remember it is easy for us to be comparatively modest. I am proud of my country, of what Canada has done, and of what Scotland has done, but I know I didn't do it, I had nothing to do with it; I have been living, enjoying myself, going about my ordinary business, while all those splendid fellows were up to the knees in mud, going over the top, dying daily, coming home with wooden legs and blinded eyes, and some of them never coming back at all. I am proud of what our boys have done, I am proud of what Englishmen have done, and the Scotchmen and the Irishmen, and what the Canadians have done, but my pride in their achievement makes me humble indeed. And that is what I really wish to say to-day, that that is the one thing needful for us, so many of us have suffered so little, and have reaped all the benefit, for us who have accepted such a vast amount of sacrifice and have stayed comfortably at home, that we should not be self-complacent. Englishmen are apt to be self-complacent. You know the Gilbert song:

> "He is an Englishman, for he himself has said it,
> And it's greatly to his credit,
> That he is an Englishman;
> For he might have been a Russian,
> Or French or Turk or Prussian,
> Or perhaps Italian;
> But in spite of all temptations
> To belong to other nations
> He remained an Englishman."

The English-speaking people are drawn to a certain self-complacency. Our American friends have not escaped it. They have come by it quite honestly. It is part of their inheritance from the good old stock. Do not blame them much for that, and remember they have not had so much to make them modest as we have. They are the richest country in the world by far, now. They have emerged from this war absolutely unscathed, untouched, with all their resources. They have only lost at the very utmost from wounds and fallen in battle, about 50,000 men. That is absolutely nothing. They had an attack of measles there some time ago and they lost seven times as many in a few weeks. I wish they would really get that into their minds, that 50,000 men out of 100,000,000—well I can't stop to say much more about it. It is the Old Testament, "Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked; my beloved waxed fat and kicked." They are prosperous; they come out of this with enormously increased wealth and resources in every way, whereas poor old England is almost bankrupt, spending seven million pounds a day for the last five years. There is not much fear of the English people at home in England and Scotland being too complacent this time, they have suffered too much. There is not a family that has not a wooden leg in it; there is not a family that has not its dead. They will mix trembling with their mirth; they will have to. We have not the same temptation as the Americans have to kick up our heels; it has not been a picnic for us nor for Canada either. I am sure there is many a man here like me, whose house is left unto him desolate. We have not that temptation.

Let us fight self-complacency then; that is what I say is the one thing needful. Let us fight self-complacency. Let us remember this war was not won by us. This war was won by the martyred peoples and we must remember this, that they were wounded for our transgressions; we cannot quit ourselves of the blame altogether. Why, the Germans have had the impudence to attack a mighty power like England and France and Russia together. Why should they? We were so pleasure-loving, so selfish, so much given up to money-making, so utterly forgetful of the noble mission God had given us in the world, the Germans with some reason despised us, we were so fat and so helpless apparently. We were an absolutely irresistible temptation, like a great big fat mutton sheep to a wolf. You cannot blame the wolf if he goes about it in a decent way; I would almost be a pro-German if they conducted themselves half decently. If they had taken the road like gentlemen, I would have had some sympathy with them; we were an irresistible temptation. These martyred peoples, these Belgians and Poles and Armenians, we must remember they were wounded for our transgressions, they were bruised, and how horribly pounded in the pestle of brutal war by the most brutal power, the most diabolical and ruthless that has ever appeared like an emanation from hell in the sunlight of this world. They were wounded for our transgressions, they were bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace—I wish Mr. Wilson would remember that—the chastisement of our peace was laid upon them, and with their stripes we are healed. Let us remember that it was these that won the war. Let us remember that it was the 1,500,000 dead Frenchmen that won the war. (Applause.) 1,500,000 from that slightly populated country, splendid people. We did not know what splendid people they were, we did not know what a splendid race the common Frenchman, the French peasant, was; we did not know what depths of idealism—to use President Wilson's phrase—what depths of idealism and self-sacrifice there were in that splendid people. We owe it to them. We owe it to those poor Belgians; what a noble appearance they made, preferring crucifixion to dishonor. (Applause.) We owe it, and don't let us forget it, to those poor Russians (Applause.) who waited until their comrade was dead to pick up his musket; we owe it to the mothers that sent their boys, many of whom are dolorous mothers; their boy's crown of glory is to them a crown of thorns. We owe it to these mothers, we owe it to the boys themselves that stood in the mud, that stood there by Ypres and Langemarck with their bare breasts against cannon, and kept back the Germans. We owe it to the boys that went over the top, that stood in the mud of the trenches, we owe it to the wooden legs that have come home, and the wooden arms that have come home, and the blind boys that they are collecting for to-day. Above all, we owe it to the dead. What a vast ocean of sacrificial blood has been spilt for us. That is the one thing needful, to bow down before that manifestation of personal sacrifice, to bow down before that reincarnation of the cross before our eyes, to bow down in lowly reverence and humility, and so to change our minds, to repent, to say, it is my sin, my selfishness that has made all that terrible sacrifice necessary, I am the cause of it as I am the beneficiary of it, and then to remember that we are not our own, but we are bought with a price, and to go on humbly day by day trying in our own ordinary walk in the daily round, and the common task, to lift ourselves up to the height of that great sacrifice. (Applause and cheers.)

A vote of thanks was moved by President Sir Robert Falconer.

EMPIRE DAY

REMARKS BY HON. DR. H. J. CODY,

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, May 22, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS asked Dr. Cody to propose the toast to the Empire.

DR. CODY: Mr. Chairman, and Fellow Members of the Empire Club: There is a special fitness in proposing this toast this year. The name of Queen Victoria is inextricably linked up with great advance in the idea and practice of the Empire. It was in the reign of Queen Victoria that our Empire took great strides forward. There is something essentially fitting in linking her name with any celebration of the fact and meaning of the Empire. You will remember that it was one hundred years ago this Queen's Birthday that Queen Victoria was born. (Applause.) We have almost forgotten it in the rush of events. Let us not forget to commemorate the centenary of the birth of that great and wise queen under whose constitutional regime so many of the most difficult problems of imperial politics and colonial development were solved. I propose to-day therefore the health of the Empire. The Empire's health is good, the Empire's stature is growing, the Empire's soul is developing, the unity of the whole organism is steadily increasing. (Applause.) There is no Empire in the history of the world like our British Empire. (Applause.) Empires in the past have generally been noted for a strong centre that exploited the extremities. Our Empire is, more properly speaking, a world-wide commonwealth; the best title is perhaps that of the British Commonwealth. It has a heart, it has limbs. Sir Robert Borden's word across the sea the other day expresses the present ideal of Empire, "National equality within the one great Empire." (Applause.) We are not like any other empire that has ever been. When German constitutional historians before the war tried to classify the British Empire under previously existing forms of government, they were at a loss. They thought it was like an image, with possibly a head of gold, and breast of silver, and body of brass and feet of clay, and that whenever a test would come the whole would topple over. That, thank God, was not the result, showing the German lack of perception and discrimination and their inability to grasp the true psychology of nations as well as individuals. Our British Empire is unique in its constitution. By a combination of unity with endless variety it is the very glorification of freedom. Moreover our British Empire has not been made; it has grown. The motives of its growth have been many. You may combine them as follows: partly the love of enterprise and adventure on the part of sea-going islanders, partly the desire for gain over the sea, partly the advance of political and religious liberty. The influence of religion has been tremendous in connection with the growth of the British Empire. There was the advance of Britain against the onslaught of Spain, that in its heart and essence was religious. There was the migration across the sea on the part of the Puritans. Added to those two great factors has been the missionary factor which has played its part, no inconsiderable part, in the development of the modern empire. Allied to it is the factor of philanthropy; such a part of the Empire is Sierra Leone, and other parts where once the slave trader rode rampant, that have been brought under the aegis of the flag, from the motive of philanthropy. Then there has been the further motive of the desire for a new home under better material and religious and political conditions. Then there has been the growth necessary to national security. We have had at times to fight, we have had at times to annex territory for our essential national security. And then when a great body reaches a certain size there is always the necessity of going forward, especially when your body is close to primitive barbarism and the dissolution of native authority. Those are the causes, good and bad; the motives are mixed, but the result of all those contributory motives is that the British Empire has grown.

What have been the stages of the overseas policy from the point of view of the heart of the Empire? There was a time when the idea obtained that colonies, overseas dominions, existed solely to be exploited by the Motherland. The party of that colonial policy of our fore-bears learned the lesson, and that is why to-day there is a Greater Britain, when the greater lands and domains of many of the other European powers have ceased to be. Then followed the policy of absolute neglect, the "cut-the-painter" period, when the British statesmen did not care whether the colonies set up for themselves or not. The curious thing is that that was a blessing in disguise, because some of the British statesmen, knowing or believing that the ultimate destiny of the overseas dominions was independence, answered the appeal for further self-government by saying in effect: Well, it is only a step on the way to separation, we might as well give it to them and keep the peace. And the result was contrary to all their expectations, that every kind of local autonomy meant a strengthening of the tie between the outlying portions and the central portion of the Empire. (Applause.)

Then there came the period, ushered in just at the end of Queen Victoria's reign, when we all began to understand that there was such a thing, such an entity as the Empire; the South African War revealed it to us, and to-day there is a new Imperialism and a throbbing life and unity throughout the whole of the British Commonwealth.

Now, gentlemen, it is to the health of that new Imperialism, that glorious British Commonwealth, that I ask you to drink to-day; and what are its essential constituents? The new Imperialism stands for these factors: veneration for the noblest traditions of our Empire, traditions of justice, traditions of freedom, traditions of the honorable keeping of one's pledged word—(Hear, hear.) further, reverence for the ideals of the British

Empire, and a recognition of our responsibility to the human race. We believe that this Empire stands for the highest and noblest things in the world; it stands for international friendship and confidence; it stands for commercial and political honor; it stands for the safeguarding of the liberties and rights of smaller states; it stands for justice, it stands for mercy, it stands for human civilization, it stands for progressive remedial legislation, and not for Bolshevist revolution. (Applause.) It stands for the training of men in self-government, it stands for unity amid diversity, it stands for the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God, and in these later years it has stood up as the champion against the assailant of international truth-keeping, brotherliness and peace.

What is the new Imperialism? This, that we all throughout the branches of one great tree recognize the oneness of our ideals, the oneness of our destiny, and that we are impelled by a passion to fulfil the possibilities of that Empire in the service of mankind.

I ask you to drink to the health of the British Empire. (Applause.)

The toast was responded to with enthusiasm, after which Mr. Frank Oldfield delighted the club with the singing of "Rule, Britannia," the whole gathering joining in the chorus.

POST-WAR CONSTRUCTIVE PERIOD FROM A WESTERN VIEWPOINT

AN ADDRESS BY R. C. HENDERS, M.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, May 22, 1919.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is with considerable fear and trembling that I stand before this audience at this important period in our history. We people in the West have been apt to entertain strange notions about the people living in the East, and from mootings in the press I presume you people in the East have entertained similar notions concerning the people who live in the West. And yet when I come to look into the faces of this audience this afternoon I can discover no difference between your looks and the looks of a western audience. I do not even see the sproutings of horns, or abnormal ears, and if I were transplanted to Winnipeg, and standing before the Canadian Club in Winnipeg, with our inimitable gentleman who occupies the high position of honor in our province, the Lieutenant-Governor, making a toast on Empire Day, and a curtain intervened between me and that gentleman, if it were not for some of the cadences in his voice, I would have imagined that I were listening to the inimitable Sir James, when I was listening to your honored friend who gave the oration on that patriotic subject this afternoon. (Applause.)

I was reminded while sitting here of the story I read of a lady living in Northwestern Ontario, who came to this country from the Old Country in the early days of

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Mr. Henders as President of the Manitoba Grain-Growers' Association, is actively in touch with the point of view of the West. He is a man of broad education and experience and has made special studies in connection with the tariff and trade questions from the point of view of the Western farmer.

her youth, and hewed out from the bushland in the wilds of northern Ontario, a comfortable home. In her declining years, the husband having fallen out by the way, and some of the children having passed on before, she lived with the remaining children. One of the daughters said very affectionately to the old lady on her birthday, "Wouldn't you like to go back to the old land and see some of the old folks and the old scenes, and live over again your early life?" After a few moments reflection the old lady said, "Na, na, I have learned lang syne that folks is just folks, and it doesna matter much whether you live on this side or that side of the water." That was about the feeling that seized me as I looked over this audience. Folks are just folks, and it does not matter whether you live in Toronto or in Winnipeg, or whether you live in the rural part of Ontario or the rural part of Manitoba or the West. Folks are just folks, and if we can reach that point and carry it with us through life, approaching the study of all our questions, political and economic, from that standpoint, it seems to me we shall get over a great many of the difficulties with which we are struggling at the present time. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Permit me to say that I esteem it a great honor, as well as a privilege, to have this opportunity of appearing before this splendid gathering of business men of the city of Toronto, representing the Empire Club of Canada. On your shoulders, as on the shoulders of all sister organizations rests a very great and serious responsibility at the present time. Canadian life, Canadian ideals, are in the melting pot. Your organization will be expected to contribute your full quota of progressive thought and activity toward the solution of many intricate and involved problems which now confront us. In the accomplishment of this work, bodies such as yours must play the part of public benefactors, performing a real service, and if that service is faithfully rendered, both present and future generations will reap the harvest, the rich harvest of your patriotic and public-spirited endeavor. I wish to thank you personally, Mr. Chairman, for the very kind references made to myself, far more than I deserve; but coming as I know they do from your heart, I accept them in all good faith and tender you my hearty appreciation for the same.

The role that I am expected to fill today is rendered difficult by two facts: first, I know that I am treading in the footsteps of many distinguished speakers, who have brought to you a wealth of thought and diction, which has both charmed and instructed you; and second, the subject which I hope to bring before you this afternoon takes us into the realm of present day life and experience, with its objects and its ideals, and invites us to look out into the avenues of the future, into the new way that is opening before us. I am conscious that I am only in the wake of the thought of progressive thinkers all over Canada, and as a man representing rural life, I must only hope to make a feeble contribution to the great thought that is being given to these important questions.

I wish at the outset of my remarks to disclaim any intention to pose as a dispenser of a panacea. Neither do I come to you as the spokesman of a class, or the retained defender of any school of thought. We are met in this club, as I take it, in the simple status of citizens; and as a citizen of Canada who makes no greater claim than this, I come to you to speak as from a Western viewpoint, only because by the accident of location my lot has been cast in the western land. The late Henry George, when he appeared before a New York audience on one occasion, was introduced by the chairman as the friend of the workingman. As George rose to his feet to address the audience, he somewhat startled them by making the statement, "Mr. Chairman, I am not the friend of the workingman." He paused for a moment, and a tremor went over the audience. He then made the statement, "I am not the friend of the rich man. Mr. Chairman, I appear before you as the friend of man." (Applause.) It is in that capacity that I would like to appeal to your sympathy while I address a few words to you on this important subject.

The clash of arms is past; the glorious days of peace with a complete and everlasting triumph of the forces of justice and liberty, are here. Thank God, the unprecedented sacrifices that Canada and the other free nations of the world have made during more than four years, the heroism of her gallant sons who by their glorious deeds have written an imperishable chapter of history, and the steadfastness and devotion of her people at home, have not been in vain. Autocracy has received a blow from which it will, please God, never recover; democracy is completely triumphant; and the real reign of the people is beginning to be established in the world. It is to this new era that we must give our thought and attention on this occasion. It will be recognized, however, that when we come to consider post-war problems, the large general outline of these problems will be the same no matter from what part of Canada one may come. Probably, it is true that the outstanding problem that impinges on the Canadian mind everywhere may be stated as the economic problem, the problem of paying the cost of the war. I have no doubt that that is the thought uppermost in the minds of a great many at the present time. We are proud of what has been accomplished; we would not have it otherwise, even to the sacrifice that has been made, if that sacrifice had to be conserved at the loss of one jot or tittle of our liberty. (Applause.)

When we turn toward the other side, the aftermath of the war, and look over the large expenditure that has to be made, and the population that is here to meet it, sometimes the question arises in the mind of the thoughtful, "How are we to meet this responsibility, how are we to overcome these difficulties?" Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I am not a pessimist, I am an optimist, and looking over the possibilities that we have in Canada,—our magnificent resources, our splendid opportunities, and best of all that magnificent asset we have in our manhood—I say without hesitation that, if we face the aftermath of the war as we faced the war issue itself, there will be no difficulty at all. (Applause.) When the war call came, our boys listened to the call. They came trooping in from every corner of the Dominion, from the ice fields of the north, belated it is true because of the length of time it took for the message to reach them, but when their ears caught the sound of war and they heard that Britain was at all involved in it, they forsook everything, and with their dog sledges or whatever they had, they made their way toward the frontier line that they might join up with their brother soldiers in Canada and do their bit in the interest of the Empire. (Applause.) Every man in his place, every woman in her place, the uppermost thought, sacrifice and service. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, if we can carry that thought into the aftermath of the war the solution of the problem of meeting war indebtedness will be found.

We sometimes hear it said—I do not like to think much about it—but we hear it said in some quarters that people were rather willing to sacrifice their sons but that they were not so willing to place their wealth on the altar. I would not like to think that of any Canadian; I would not like to think that we had forgotten so quickly the lesson Providence designed to teach us in the war, for I believe Providence did intend to teach us a lesson there. I read an incident in a paper the other day of a man who met one of our practical hard-headed business men, and asked him: "Do you believe in the Brotherhood of Man, and in the Fatherhood of God?" The answer came back: "Yes, I believe in the Brotherhood of Man, and in the Fatherhood of God, except in business." Has not that been too much in evidence during the generation that is past? Has it not been that we have been so materialistic that the god of gold has seized us to such an extent that we have well nigh excluded our better selves and our better nature? I would that we could realize that we have failed to learn the lesson intended to have been given us by the war, if we have not brought it down into our business relationships, and that the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God extend to us in every ramification of our lives. (Applause.)

A strong pull and a long pull and a pull altogether is what we need. I remember an incident that occurred in my boyhood life illustrative of the point we are laboring with just now. We were building a large grist mill, not more than fifty miles from where we stand, and the time came for putting up the frame work of that building. Some of you old men who come from the country know what it is to be at a barn raising, at one of these gatherings. Of course the timbers of that grist mill were very heavy, and it required the united effort of all to perform the duties that had to be done that afternoon. They got the bents in shape, they got everything in order, and they began lifting. When they got the first bent lifted breast high, it stuck solid. The captain gave the signal "Heave, Yo Heave," and they lifted; it raised about an inch and sank back about an inch and a half or two inches. He gave another call, and it lifted a little higher; he gave a third, and it did not move. The congregation of women stood by looking on, and the Captain turned and said: "Women, if you would have husbands; young women, if you would have brothers and sweethearts, come," and they all flocked to the position. All got under the bent, and then the Captain gave the great "Heave, Yo Heave," and it went up and up and up, and finally sank into its resting place, and the situation was saved. (Applause.) I want to say, Gentlemen, that that is the spirit that we want to seize the people of Canada to-day. The load is there, the load is a heavy one, but it is not too heavy for us if we marshall our forces and lift altogether.

Another of the post-war problems to which I would like to call attention this afternoon is the restoration of industry to a peace status. We heard so much a few months ago about longings to get back to the pre-war days. Gentlemen, I want to make the statement this afternoon, that I do not expect we shall ever get back again to the pre-war days. (Applause.) I will go farther and I will say I hope we never shall get back to the pre-war days. Pre-war days are not good enough for us to-day. We have gone through a baptism of blood that ought to lift us into a higher plane of living, that ought to fit us for a bigger and a nobler service than ever was rendered by any man at any time previous to this present war. Pre-war days will not suffice us. Pre-war days had a mighty struggle to carry us up to our times, and pre-war days were in the balance previous to the days of the war. In my judgment the testing time had come with regard to conditions that obtained previous to the war. You have only to cast your minds back a short time and recall the circumstances through which we were passing previous to the war. Come with me out to the mountain districts of British Columbia and up through our great timber limits there. Pass through the milling industries out in British Columbia in the year 1913-14, and learn what was the experience we passed through. The lumber yards were filled with the cut timber, ready for practical uses, but it was stored away in the mountains. The holders of that lumber were wrestling with the banks and holding on to that lumber to keep it out there. But the time came when the banking interests stepped in and said, "You shall hold on no longer, we will carry you no longer, your credit will not be good for any greater length than it takes to unload." Why? Because a monopoly had control of the great lumber interests there, and the price was so high as to be prohibitive down on the plains where that lumber was needed. The result of that was a loosening up, and the hamlets that were needing that lumber to make shelter and comfort, were able to secure it at a reasonable price. Homes were built, the milling industries were made to move, and what seemed to the lumber interests to be a loss proved ultimately a great gain. Come a little nearer; come down to the city of Winnipeg; the Provincial Legislature is in session. They are acting as Parliaments sometimes do—they are doing a lot of talking and a certain amount of legislating. But while they were talking and legislating there was a crust of unrest over the city of Winnipeg that was breaking up here and there and yonder, and by-and-by we saw mobs assembled in the streets, somewhat similar to what I fear are there to-day. They marched down to Government House, they surrounded the Parliament Buildings, and what was their cry? "Give us work or give us bread." I am not so sure but you had a similar experience here at that time. These conditions obtained previous to the war. Do we want these conditions to return? Do we want that absorption in self and selfish interests that makes us exclude the interests of our fellow men, or are we going to have inculcated by the war that broader spirit that will lead us to get a little closer together than we were in pre-war days? If the lesson of the war is to mean anything to us, it is going to mean this, that when we set the economic machinery of this country in working order in post-war times, it will be on a higher plane and a better plane than the plane on which it existed in pre-war days. (Applause.)

In those pre-war days people were groping about for remedies. It is true they were groping in classes, and I fear that, unfortunately, we are holding too closely to our classes to-day. The labor element was working along their line, and while they were denouncing class distinction and class legislation and class privilege, they were organizing a class as autocratic as any class ever was. The rural population, I like to place as the great intermediate class, standing between capital on the one side and labor on the other, the great middle class; and they were organizing with the idea of bettering conditions, and while they put up their motto, which was a good one, and I think a great many of them tried consciously to live up to it, yet all did not live up to it; an element of that class manifested its class consciousness a little too much. But they were struggling out toward common ground. They were not satisfied. Unrest existed, and in their struggle through years of study along economic lines, they reached a platform that they put out, claiming, and I believe with a great deal of honesty, that there was in that platform, perhaps not an ideal solution but a foundation at least for a solution of this great economic unrest. In putting out that platform they enunciated certain principles, they set forth a certain policy. I am satisfied that a great many men before me may not have found in that policy just the thing that would be to their liking. I am not so sure that they themselves found in that platform all that was to their liking, but it was a struggle, an honest struggle, I will say, out into a larger life and into a greater liberty. They had the temerity to place that platform before the people and to say to them: "Let that platform, if you like, be the basis or common ground for calling together all the people representing the different classes, and let us go through its different planks carefully, and if we can make improvements upon it in the interests of all, let us do it; but in any case let us get together and let us meet these difficulties, in order that we may get on some common ground that will bring well-being to the greatest number of our people."

I will not deal with the different planks of that platform this afternoon, but I would like to mention a few of them. When I do so, I do not do it in any dogmatic spirit, or with any idea of dogmatic teaching along that line; but I want you to think about them, and I hope that, if need be, when we get through with this meeting to-day and you think them over, at some future time if you think well of them as some of us do, we may get together for a conference with another object in view than that of inspiration, a bringing together of the people of Canada on common ground.

Now I suppose I am bearding the lion in his den, when I state that one of the planks of the platform is that we ask for an immediate, and substantial, and all-round reduction of the customs tariff—a substantial, immediate and all-round reduction of the customs tariff. (Applause.) That is good. (Laughter and applause.) It is belated but it is good, Gentlemen. I do not think that ought to scare anybody, in fact I have been trying to follow the press in the east very carefully for the last two or three years, and I am not so sure but I strike a note of approval in this audience, when I make a statement of that kind, that even among those who have profited by that protective tariff, some have reached the conclusion that perhaps, take it all in all, it could be improved upon. (Laughter and applause.) Of course if I were to let loose, I could make a free trade speech, but I do not think we have reached the time when we want ultra views or opinions expressed. (Hear, hear.) The sentiment I gave utterance to in my opening remarks was that this is a time for conciliation, a time for bringing together all the forces of our great people in this country; and the way to do that is to get your feet under a common table and meet the questions as they come, get all sides before you, and then come as near together as you possibly can. (Applause.)

Now I have a lot of stuff here—(referring to notes)—that I think is valuable. (Laughter.) I would like to give you another plank out of that platform. It is that all foodstuffs be placed on the free list. Perhaps there is no one class as much affected by that plank in the platform as the agricultural class. We simply throw down the challenge and say we do not want a tax put on the food of the people of Canada or of the Empire. (Applause.) All we ask as producers along that line is an open market and no favors. We believe we have possibilities in Canada, that, if we are not handicapped, will enable us to go into any market in the world with the product of our labor, and compete successfully. (Applause.) And we believe we are large enough in our hearts not to want the privilege of taxing the bread baskets of those who are not as well off as we are. (Applause.) But we do ask something; we ask for a free show and no favors. What does that mean? It means this, that in the production of these foodstuffs, if we are to go out and compete in the markets of the world, we shall receive in connection with the production of these foodstuffs, the elements that enter into that production without any tariff restrictions. We want our fertilizers, we want our farm machinery, we want our vehicles, our coal, our lumber, our cement, our lubricating oils, on the free list. Are we asking for privilege when we ask for this? I answer, No. We desire that every manufacturer in his business shall have his tools free; we ask further that every manufacturer in his business shall have his raw materials free. Then we say, if we have our machinery and our raw materials free, and the other classes have their machinery and their raw materials free, we in

Canada ought to face the world and say we can win out. (Applause.)

We hear a good deal said about adjustment of the tariff, and it comes to us continually. "Well, we cannot live unless we have a certain amount of protection." Granting that, is it unreasonable for us to ask that any concern making that request be asked to give us more than the bare, bald statement to that effect? We believe in the development of home industry, where home industry ought to be developed. We do not believe in putting a protective tariff around bananas so that we may grow them in Toronto, and we do not believe in fostering an industry in Canada that is not indigenous to the soil of Canada. For the sake of manufacturing, we do not want to manufacture in Canada what naturally ought to be manufactured somewhere else; because every time you do that, you increase the cost to the consumer and at the same time you minimize the capital of the laborer. We are not getting for that labor the full value that is in connection with it. Therefore, we ask that, when any industry desires an increase of tariff or a continuation of the tariff, it shall not only say, "We want it, we must have it," but that it shall be prepared to put its cards on the table, and show the facts in connection with it, and show these facts before an impartial, governmentally appointed board, and before the eyes of the public; and if, in the eyes of the public and of that governmental board, it is found that the industry is essential to Canada, and that it cannot live without this amount of protection, we are prepared to say then, that we will stand by that industry. But the time is past when the people of this country are going to say, that they will take the word of anybody or any concern when these ask for privileges without showing the reason why. (Applause.) We have developed a lot of Missourians in Canada, and you know the Missourian wants to know *why* when you put a proposition of that kind up to him. We therefore make that reasonable request.

What I ask for from Canada is this: That we shall go out into this new era, meeting the conditions that confront us, and act fearlessly, and act quickly, or we shall have in Canada what they have in Russia at the present time. I ask that the interests concerned may take the initiative in getting together along broad co-operative lines, and see if we cannot evolve a platform that will unite the forces of Canada—capital, the agricultural interests, and the laboring interests—so that we can have a common council that will look at all the interests of the different classes represented, and will bring out of that a common platform that will bring the greatest good to all. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks was moved by Mr. Parsons, of the Manufacturers' Association.

GENERAL SIR ARTHUR CURRIE, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

THE LAST HUNDRED DAYS OF THE WAR

AN ADDRESS BY SIR ARTHUR CURRIE, K.C.M.G., K.C.B.

Joint Meeting with Canadian Club, Massey Hall, August 29, 1919.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is difficult to find words which will express in a manner satisfactory to myself, my appreciation of the warmth of the welcome which Toronto has given to me. I thank you, sir, for your generous words of introduction. I regard this welcome and those words as a tribute from you here assembled, to the greatness of all Canada's overseas soldiers. There is no success with which my name has been associated but belongs to the soldiers whom I had the honor of commanding, and I am proud that to-day I have the privilege of meeting so many of the fathers and mothers of those men in the city of Toronto. I realize what Toronto has done in the war. I know of the tens and hundreds of thousands that have gone from this province and from this city to the front. I know of the tons and tons of comforts that you have sent across to our hospitals there and to the units in the field and, in that way, alleviated suffering and made life more endurable. I know of the generous millions you have poured forth for the same purpose and it is a proud moment for me to stand in the capital city of my native province and on behalf of those men tender you our most grateful thanks.

General Sir Arthur Currie, Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian Corps, was a British Columbia lawyer and business man, at the outbreak of the war. He developed rare ability at the front as a tactician and military organizer. To him in no small measure is due the signal success which attended the fighting of the Canadian Corps during the war, and especially during the last hundred days of the war.

I must apologize to you inasmuch as I have no set speech ready. If I were to follow the advice of my physician I would go direct to Vancouver Island and there hunt and fish and get a little rest. He told me I should not indulge in these functions. So I said to myself when I came here that I would simply trust to the inspiration of the moment. Your chairman has given me that inspiration. He has given it by reading what *The Times* was good enough to say, and I am going to tell you briefly something that I think will interest you. That is the story of the last hundred days of the war.

I want to preface that by making one reference to the first engagement in which the Canadians fought, the Second Battle of Ypres. I remember after that engagement took place the commander of the Second Army, Gen. Smith Dorrien, came to me and said "I can never tell you General what the stand of the Canadians meant. When I heard of the retirement of the troops on the left I foresaw the greatest disaster that ever overtook British arms. And when I pictured men, transports, guns all trying to get across the Yser canal I shuddered with horror. Then the message arrived that the Canadians were holding on. I refused to believe it. I sent out my own staff and every succeeding report I received was better than the one before it." And the Commander-in-Chief of the army, General French, was good enough to say, "It was your sons and your brothers who saved the situation for the Empire." And the traditions which they established, traditions for not giving up, for determination to win, for endurance, were carried on and built upon by the succeeding men who came from Canada. We were able to build up in the Canadian corps what was universally conceded to be the hardest hitting and fighting force of its size on the Western front. I know the modesty of the men and I know that you would never gather that fact from them. But I think it is only fair that I should say it.

Let me for a moment say something about war. We picture war as a business of banners flying, men smiling, full of animation, guns belching forth, and all that sort of thing. One, somehow or other, gets the impression that there is a great deal of glory and glamor about the battlefield. I never saw any of it. I want you to understand that war is simply the curse of butchery, and men who have gone through it, who have seen war stripped of all its trappings, are the last men that will want to see another war.

On the first of last October we were counter-attacked by eight German divisions, two of which were fresh, do you realize that meant fifty or sixty thousand Germans, all quite willing to die, coming right at us determined to kill everyone if they could get through. And we were determined that we would kill every one of them rather than let them get through. On that day we fired seven thousand tons of ammunition into them. No wonder the ammunition factories of Canada were kept busy. It was fired to kill. If they got close to us and escaped the artillery we tried to shoot them with rifles, kill them with machine guns. If they came on, as they were quite willing to, we were ready to stick the bayonet into them. I want you to understand what war is and you cannot have war without the inevitable price.

We have fought on battlefields where it took our stretcher-bearers six hours to get out one wounded man. What these men must have suffered and endured! We fought over ground in which every inch was a shell hole, muddy and covered with unburied bodies. Now if you go to France, as many of you will, because your brave boys lie there, you will see a country, miles wide and hundreds of miles long, absolutely stripped of every form of human habitation. Where stood whole towns there is now not one brick on another. That means that fathers and mothers who have worked all their lives getting those homes together,—because in France and Belgium they are thrifty and industrious people and fond of their homes,—have lost everything. Parents have been driven away, sons have gone into the army and probably have been killed, because no country has paid the price like France. And after living as outcasts and refugees they have returned and have found not a brick of the old home in place. Everything is unspeakable desolation. There is nothing but shell holes and trenches and barbed wire where our men lived in dugouts with the rats and the lice. If they exposed themselves for a minute they were sniped and shelled night and day, when they came out to rest they were bombarded. That was the life that they lived and that to my mind indicates, their endurance, the great outstanding quality of our soldiers.

Now the year 1918 came. It brought many surprises to those who were not there. You had been led to believe that our army was victorious, that we had more men and more guns than the Boche had, that the very thing that we wanted them to do was to come on and attack us. That is what they did. On March 21, 1918 they attacked us with great success. They penetrated deeply into our lines and almost separated the British army from the French. Shortly after that they attacked again just south of Arras in early April. They attacked again north of La Bassee and again bulged our line, and the only part of the British front that did not give was the part held by the Canadian corps. It is true we were not attacked, but the Canadian corps was protecting what was the most tempting thing for the Boche. That was the sole remaining coal fields of Northern France. If he were successful in getting these coal fields you can understand how the economic and industrial life of France would have been interrupted. He made deep inroads to the south, another to the north, until we were in an enormous salient and we were so concerned that we withdrew our heavy guns and echeloned them along the flank. You know the heavy guns in the corps would stretch twenty-seven miles and I did not want twenty-seven miles of road to be blocked by the heavy artillery. As to whether the corps played a part commensurate with its strength you can judge when I tell you that they held thirty-five miles of front, that is, one-fifth of the front held by the British army.

Then the time came when we were the only part of the British army who were not engaged and the commander-in-chief withdrew the corps from the front in order that he might have a hitting force ready to move in any direction from which attack might come. I may say that three divisions were pulled out, the second division was left in the line with the third army. Many a time I asked to get the second division out. On three or four occasions it was arranged that they go out when some new development would hinder their relief. It was actually about July 1st when they joined us. I remember very well when the divisions were moving down into our new area. As they moved in the French civilians were moving out, bundling their stuff on wagons and wheel-barrows and baby carriages, trying to get away to the rear. But when they found that the Canadians were coming they turned around and went back to their homes. You could not believe, unless you talked to the French people, what wonderful confidence they had in the ability of the Canadians to beat back any onslaught the Germans might make.

During the seven weeks that we were out we completed our organization. We had a different organization from what prevailed in the other armies. I think one great source of our strength was due to the fact that we always fought together, and as we realized through the lessons war had taught us, that our infantry, artillery, engineers, machine guns, etc., could be strengthened, we changed our organization. There is no use in waiting until the end of the war to make necessary changes and I would only like to make one reference to our organization by saying that in the *post bellum* committee's report you read in the press, that the committee on organization constituted by the War Office considered that the organization that prevailed in the Canadian corps was the most satisfactory one and should be adopted by the British army in future. Efforts were made in the spring of last year to change our organization but these efforts did not prevail and I for one am more than glad that they did not. If you read the reports of Sir Douglas Haig on the retirement of the fifth army in the spring of 1918, you will see in half a dozen places reference made to the fact that the Germans caught that fifth army in the middle of reorganization. Well no German attack ever caught the Canadian corps in the same predicament.

During the seven weeks referred to we trained our men to overcome an area dominated by machine gun fire, and when the attack on Amiens came many of our men said, "This is our training all over again. We have met all this before in practice, everything is familiar." We went back into the lines about the middle of last August, and as we never assumed a defensive attitude the Canadian corps prepared to attack. We believed that the only way to win wars was by fighting, so we prepared attacks on every front to which we went and carried the battle to the Boche. We tried to make his life miserable. We gassed him on every opportunity and on one occasion ninety per cent. of the gas in France was being thrown at the Boche by the Canadians. We never forgot that gas at the second battle of Ypres, and we never let him forget it either. We gassed him on every conceivable occasion, and if we could have killed the whole German army by gas we would gladly have done so. If our aeroplane photographs disclosed that the Boche was using certain roads we fired on those roads all night long. We shot them up with machine guns if we could, or with artillery. We never gave him any peace whatever. When we went in at Amiens we prepared to attack.

Just over a year ago I had dinner with General Rawlinson. There Rawlinson unfolded the plan he had in mind for the operation of Amiens. On August 1st, 1918, it was intended to fight only one more great battle that year. That was to be the battle of Amiens. And if success came the armies in Europe were going to sit down and wait for the development of the big American army, and the war was to be finished in 1919.

Now many people think that casualties occur only when battles are on. Let me tell you that in five months when we were in the Ypres salient, in normal warfare, except for the attack on Mt. Sorrell, we had very heavy casualties. In June the casualties in the corps were nearly 250 a day. Casualties are going on all the time all around you. If the plans had prevailed that we were going to sit down and go through another winter's campaign, the casualties would probably have been more than occurred in the closing hundred days of the war. And the big battles would have to be fought in the spring anyway. And the Canadians would have been used the same as they were used last April because they had been regarded by the commander-in-chief as first class assault troops.

The objective of that battle of Amiens was this: We wanted to win the main lateral lines and we wanted to remove the danger of the Boche breaking in between the British and the French armies. The Canadian corps was moved down to form the spearhead of that attack. The troops on the right and on the left were ordered to take their time from and make their advances according to the wishes of the Canadian corps. We were the spearhead. Secrecy was the prime necessity, and many were the ruses that were adopted to fool the Boche. In the first place we sent several battalions up north to go into the line near Kemmell. The King of the Belgians complained to Marshal Foch that the Canadians were about to make an attack on Kemmell and he had not been informed. So well was the secret kept that the French liason officers that were with us moved away from near Arras, went up to Kemmell and established themselves and did not know for two days that the corps was going south. Moving at night and night only, the whole corps in the space of seven or eight days was moved down south and assembled east of Amiens. I never saw troops more ready for a fight. During the time that we had been out, we trained in overcoming areas defended by machine guns. I used to go out to see how it was carried on. I went out one day and found a unit doing it very indifferently and I scolded them, and the boys say that when I get that way I am pretty forcible. I assembled the battalion, intending to make them do it over again. No bugler was on parade and I became more cross than ever. "The trouble with you is," I said "that you do not like this play warfare. I am going to send you back to the line at once." "Hurrah," they roared, "that is where we want to go."

And another thing struck me. You know for years the troops at the front had not sung. When we first went there the troops used to sing, and then for years they stopped their songs and nothing was heard. When troops marched along there was just the steady trunch, trunch on the cobbled roads. But that night, the night before the battle of Amiens, the troops sang for the first time in years. They sang hymns and they sang, "What the h—— do we care, the gang's all here." That is the spirit with which they went into that battle and I said to my staff officers, "It is all off with the Boche to-morrow morning if we can get through to-night." And we did get through that night. We had thousands and thousands of men, thousands and thousands of tons of ammunition, thousands and thousands of gallons of poison gas for the attack. You can realize what would have happened if one of their shells had hit the gas stores in that wood. There would have been a catastrophe. However luck seemed to be with us. Five-thirty came, everybody in line, not a gun had been registered. What guns had been put in, in the few days before, were in carefully hidden positions with ammunition stored. But not a gun fired because we have instruments now which disclose the range of every gun by the flash. We can tell just exactly where a gun is to twenty feet and the Boche can also. If we disclosed the positions of our men they would know that an attack was coming but so well did our gunners know their guns that they were able without previous registration to lay down a perfect barrage. We had a great many tanks, and with one of them went a piper standing on top, playing his regimental march as cool as if on parade. The objective of that battle was to be the Amiens defence line, 14,000 yards or eight miles east of our jumping off line. I don't know how long it was estimated we would require to reach our objective but so great was the success that we were there that night. It constituted the deepest penetration that had been made by any army, German or Allied, in one day, up to that period of the war.

Now as to the results of that battle, outside the material gain the effect on morale was wonderful. The whole spirit of the army and of the nation changed. Troops that had been looking over their shoulders, looked again towards the Rhine. The army and Empire which had been very much concerned and at times despondent, saw hope dawn again. It caused a resurrection and re-strengthening of our determination to win. The material results were simply that in four or five days we penetrated 24,000 yards, took 9,000 prisoners, 196 guns, thousands of machine guns, and fought and thoroughly licked sixteen German divisions. After the first four days, or on the 13th of the month,—the battle had taken place on the 8th,—we had come up against the old Somme battlefield from which the Boche had voluntarily retired in the year 1916 leaving there the old trenches, machine gun emplacements, wire and dugouts. There are some who say that I am a bull-headed fighter, that I simply keep rushing ahead regardless of my men or of the consequences, but on the 13th when we came up against the old Somme defences I wrote a letter to the commander of the fourth army—I am sorry I have not a copy here—in which I stated that I thought the battle had gone far enough unless there was some urgent reason why it should not be broken off. The corps had won great success, its morale was very high. I recommended that the attack be transferred to the third army and that we hit down in the direction of Bapaume, an operation which had been discussed and which I had always believed could have been carried out with great success. We were not transferred to the third army, but the third did hit in on the 21st with very great success. I would like to say here that the third army was commanded by our old and trusted leader, General Byng. But no matter what the success of that army was, they would sooner or later come up against the Hindenburg system of trenches on which the Boche had staked his all.

Now I say the morale changed, hope came again into the breast of our War Council and our leaders. I think one of the first to say that success might come last year, and that there was no need of waiting for the big army of our neighbors to the south—I mean there was no need to wait for them to finish the war in 1919, no one realizes better than I do what help those millions of American soldiers gave to the Allied cause—one of the first was our Commander-in-Chief, Sir Douglas Haig. He saw that if the Hindenburg line could be broken, the war could be finished last year. And so he withdrew the Canadian corps from the Amiens front where it had had such striking success and gave it the task of piercing the Hindenburg line.

Beginning August 26th, we began the battle of Arras. We finished that on September 2nd. In that period we had broken through six successive systems of trenches and finally broken the "Queant-Drocourt Switch" on September 2nd. The Queant-Drocourt line is the front line and support line, well wired in front, five hundred yards and then another line with more wire, six or seven hundred yards heavily wired and another line. In that battle there were nearly 10,000 prisoners taken. There were ninety-eight guns taken, a penetration of 20,000 yards made, the Hindenburg system for the first time pierced, and eighteen German divisions fought and decisively beaten.

Now I say that our chief saw that the war could be finished last year. However, it meant that we had to keep on fighting with every available man. Those who know the cost of long periods of trench warfare, the loss of life from instruments of warfare, as well as the terrible wastage in a country where all the defences would have to be new defences, because we were driving the Boche into country not previously fought over, will realize the wisdom of finishing the terrible struggle as quickly as possible when there was a chance.

Then there was conceived those four great hammer blows that finished the war. On September 26th the Americans and the French hit in away down south. On the 27th the Canadians crossed the Canal du Nord. On the 28th the second army and the French hit in on the north. And on the 29th the British fourth army hit in. These were the four great hammer blows that brought the Boche to his knees.

Now the Canadians in all their experience had never taken as formidable a position as the Canal du Nord. East of it is a marsh which was heavily wired, and to the south and behind was rising ground that gave good observation and good gun positions. We asked that our line might be extended and we took over another 3,000 yards. On the 27th the corps went across there and began what I think is one of the most remarkable operations of the war. Having crossed the canal on a narrow front we turned and spread out like a fan. By night we were on a front of 14,500 yards. My old chief, General Byng, came to see me and said. "Do you think you can do it, because, you are undertaking the most daring operation that has been attempted in the war." But with long experience of what the Canadian could do, conscious of the spirit of the troops and trusting to capable leaders, I had every reason to believe that the operation could be successfully carried out. That was the day we took Bourlon Wood. The Boche made up his mind that we were not going to have that front. Bourlon Wood is the key to the whole country. We fought through it for five days and every attack we made fore-stalled a German attack. We attacked on the 28th at 6 a.m. and captured orders disclosing that the Boche had intended to attack at 8.30, so it went on for five days, a ding-dong battle, just like two wrestlers in a ring. When you are locked in a struggle like that you cannot be the one to quit, and anyway it has never been characteristic of the Canadian soldiers to quit.

The battle of Amiens, I consider, was finished on October 1st and 2nd. Then we were to the north, and we held the high ground along the Cambrai-Douai road. Cambrai was only entered by Canadian troops on the morning of October 9th. We crossed the Canal du Nord, a mile and a half north of Cambrai at 1.30 a.m. and by daylight our troops were a mile and a half to the east. That operation, carried out by the fifth brigade, was one of the best little brigade operations I know of. Co-operating with them were troops of the third, and I think the old fourth C.M.R. also. We entered Cambrai and by daylight we were through it, north, south, east and west. We regard the battle of Cambrai to have taken from September 23rd to October 12th. In that operation we made a penetration of 30,000 yards, took twenty-two field and heavy guns, thousands of machine guns, and thirteen German divisions were met and defeated. These thirteen had been re-inforced by other battalions. So up to that time, which was the closing day of the great struggle which began on August 8th, the Canadian corps had met and defeated forty-seven different German divisions.

Then there came a month of driving the enemy hurriedly across open country. The largest operation which took place in the last month was on November 1st, when the city of Vallenciennes was taken, the key is Mount Houey to the south. Mount Houey had twice been assaulted and twice retaken previously. Our line was extended so that it was included. We captured it bv about one thousand four hundred troops on the morning of November 1st. We suffered eighty men killed and three hundred wounded; we buried between eight hundred and one thousand Boches, and we took eighteen hundred prisoners. Ten days later the corps were in front of Mons and the next day the armistice came into effect.

I am going to make another statement about Mons, although I have made it two or three times already. Orders which had been issued by the commander-in-chief, not direct to me but coming down through the usual channel, G.H.Q. to the army and then to the corps, —was that there should be no relaxation in the pressure on the enemy during the visit of the German plenipotentiaries to Marshal Foch's headquarters. In consequence of that order, Canadians have always had a great respect for orders, we continued the pressure as it had been going on for days. The German plenipotentiaries agreed to the terms of the armistice at five o'clock on Monday morning, November 11th. Before five o'clock nobody knew whether they were going to agree, but before they agreed Mons was in our possession. No order by me, verbal or otherwise, ordered an assault on Mons and Mons was never assaulted. You do not assault a city in these days without artillery preparation. I am an honorary citizen of Mons, and the document which was presented to me with that distinction records the fact that no British shell was fired into the city of Mons. About half-past seven that morning we got word that the armistice was to go into effect at eleven o'clock and orders to that effect were immediately sent out. But do you know there were units engaged in the closing days who absolutely would not come out of the line. I know a battalion whose period of relief came and they would not quit fighting. You cannot understand how sick we all were of the war, nor our anxiety of finishing it as soon as possible, if there was any chance of success. Your sons and brothers wanted to see it out. They wanted to be done with the cursed thing. They never want to see any more war.

Now these things are what your fellow citizens did. These men have come back. These are your own boys who have come back and ask to be absorbed again into the national life of this country. For them I appeal to every business man here present, I appeal to every woman here present, that they do everything in their power to see that not a single soldier goes without work. I don't know all the men of the Canadian corps but I know the spirit that they stand for. These men do not want sympathy, or something for nothing. They were an asset before they left this country. They are a greater asset now.

Every year before the war you took into this country hundreds of thousands of men who were not of your own flesh and blood, who did not speak your language. You could absorb them into the national life of your country and it did not seem to be any problem. Now these men who have come back are your very own. Their bodies have been exposed as a living bulwark on the battlefields of Europe to save for you this nation of Canada. And Canada owes a debt to these soldiers and I know Canada is willing to pay the debt. I do not want you to be impatient with the boys. It takes some time for them to resume again their former life. It will call for the exercise of patience and tolerance on the part of the employer but I appeal to you to give these men jobs and pay them better than you ever paid them before.

I know also that there are pernicious influences at work in this country trying to wean the soldier from his high ideals. The most pernicious propaganda is being circulated. There is only one way to meet that, by counter propaganda and by seeing that every soldier has work and is made contented. These men have fought for law, order and decency and they want it more than ever now.

Just for a moment I want to refer to those who are not coming back. Fifty thousand of our comrades lie buried in the fields of France and Flanders. They gave their lives cheerfully that what the British Empire stands for should endure, should not be destroyed. There is not one of them who would want to be here this afternoon if he knew that a fellow countryman had to take his place. Let me tell you a little story. At the Battle of Vimy Ridge, a corporal went out with his patrol of seven or eight. They were engaged in scouting and it was necessary to get the information and rush it back to headquarters as quickly as possible. They were caught by hostile machine gun fire and to move, meant certain death. The corporal realized how important it was that the information he had should be sent back and he said to his comrades, "I am going over there. When I do you beat it." What he meant was "I am going to make a dash. I am going to draw the machine gun fire. You get away and save yourselves." The message reached headquarters. But the corporal lies buried near an old gun pit on the eastern slopes of Vimy Ridge. This was the spirit of the men. They have come home with that spirit and I know you will interest yourselves in them. To me it seems that there should be no returned soldier problem. If there is a spirit of unrest I do not think the returned soldier is going to cause it. I can understand his feelings. It may be caused by men who did not, like him, expose their bodies for $1.10 per day, but made a great deal more than that. These are the men who are responsible for any unrest.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen for this honor, and anything, as I said before, you have done for me in the way of formal tribute I accept from you as a tribute to the men whom it was my privilege to command.

Speaking in reply to an address from Great War Veterans' Association, Sir Arthur Currie said: I want to be associated with the veterans and I want to interest myself in their problem. I think the first thing is to take care of the widows and the orphans of those who are not coming back. I think the next charges are those men who have lost maybe both arms, or both legs, and who are not able to work. And then comes the returned soldier himself. He will stand with all good citizens for what is right for our country.

Reference is made in your address to the new appointment I have just taken over. I am not a militarist, I never want to see war again, but I want to tell you that this war cost the nations of this world twenty-six million casualties, and the greatest military experts of the time say that if Great Britain could have put an army of 500,000 into the field at the commencement, the war would not have taken place. I say it is the greatest folly for any country to be unprepared. None of us want to see another war and I am not a believer in great standing armies or anything like that. But I believe that there can be introduced into this country a militia system that will give the people full value for their money. If any emergency should arise requiring the mobilization of the militia force, out of the militia of this country will arise a force which will be able to fulfill its duty, and if ever war comes again our militia system will be of real service.

SOME IMPERIAL PROBLEMS

AN ADDRESS BY LORD ROBERT FINLAY, OF LONDON, ENGLAND.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, September 18, 1919.

LORD ROBERT FINLAY, on rising to speak, was greeted with applause and said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am indeed proud to be here to-day to listen to what your chairman has said and to receive such a welcome as that which you have been good enough to extend to me. I feel that in extending that welcome to me you are really expressing your attachment to the Empire as a whole. You realize that it is for the good of the whole Empire that the different parts of it should get to know one another better. We are always glad to see Canadians in England and in seeing them there we are able to realize better what a great country it is that fate has indissolubly, I trust, linked with Britain in the history of the world. You are pleased to express pleasure at one, who has borne some part in public life in England, coming to Canada, and I can assure any of those who may consult me on the subject that they will find a trip to Canada one of the most delightful and one of the most enlightening experiences that any public man can possibly go through. I have, I think, had more pleasure in the days that I have spent in this great Dominion than in any period of my life. I have put into a comparatively small number of

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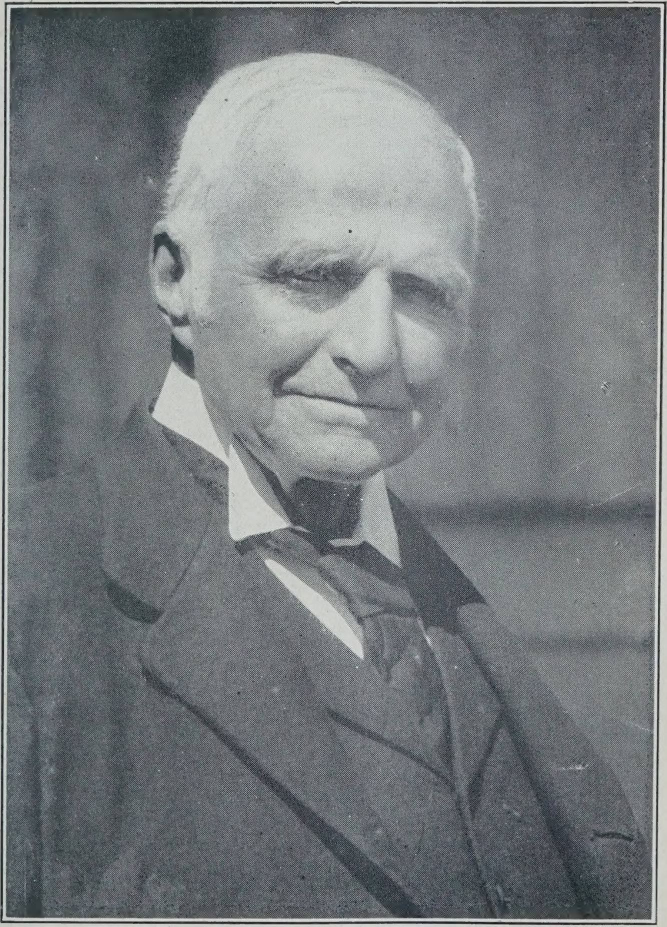
Lord Finlay of Nairn came to Canada to attend the meetings of the Canadian Bar Association in Winnipeg. He is well known both from his legal and political associations, as one of the most prominent lawyers of Great Britain. He was Solicitor-General in the British Government from 1895 to 1900, Attorney-General from 1900 to 1906, and Lord-Chancellor from 1916 to January 1919.



LORD ROBERT FINLAY

days a vast amount of pleasure, and I hope—it will be through no fault of yours if it is otherwise—that I have learned something during that visit.

Gentlemen, I think we are all realizing in these days what a bond of Empire the Crown is. (Applause.) We have among us here at present the heir to the Crown and I think I may say without fear of contradiction that he has endeared himself to everyone in Canada. (Applause.) I am sure that every one feels his loyalty all the more fervent because we have had among us one who some day will preside over the destinies of this mighty Empire. The bonds that unite the Empire are partly those of sentiment, the noblest sentiment that ever inspired any nation, and partly those of common duties and of common interests. It is a very fervent feeling that of attachment to what I might call the British connection. It is felt warmly in the great province in which I have now the honor to speak, and I am certain that that attachment proceeds from the most praiseworthy of all motives, a feeling of loyalty to the race to which we all belong, and of loyalty to the Crown which represents the union of that race. The union of the Empire carries with it advantages to all parts of the Empire. The Empire united is infinitely stronger than the different parts of the Empire if separated could possibly be. Let us stick together. The bundle of sticks is far stronger than any one stick individually, and you have in a united Empire that strength which a union ever brings, and which none but the foes of the Empire would desire to weaken. (Applause.) Gentlemen, that union has carried us triumphantly through the war. I have spoken of what in England we feel as the magnificent part which Canada has played in the war, and I should desire by your permission to say a few words to you, in the first place upon that desire which is often expressed for a somewhat closer union between such great Dominions as Canada and the Mother Country. Of course it is no new thing this idea of an intimate incorporation between what used to be called the Colonies and the Mother Country. A very distinguished writer in the eighteenth century expressed the view that the cure for all the difficulties that were arising on the farther side of the Atlantic, and I am speaking from the English point of view, on this side of the Atlantic, I ought to have said—would be there should be one parliament and that America should send representatives to that parliament sitting in London. Well, that proposition was made by a very great man, Adam Smith, in the year 1775. I think, having regard to the time that the voyage in those days from America to Great Britain occupied, it was perhaps a somewhat daring proposal. I dare say these difficulties might be surmounted, but we are all sensible that if anything of the kind were attempted the facilities of communication now would make the task a little easier than it was in 1775. It is a week, I think, from the Atlantic Coast to England, and it is another week from the Atlantic Coast over to the Pacific Coast, where the western frontiers of the Dominion are. That is a tolerably long way, but still the means of transit have enormously improved. But for all that I myself believe that there would be very great difficulties in the way of an incorpated union of bonds. I do not believe it is in that direction that we should seek to gratify the desire, although a most praiseworthy and legitimate desire, for closer union between the Mother Country and the Dominion. You would have, of course, to take into account all the parts of the Empire in framing any scheme of that kind. Well, whatever the facilities of communication now with the Dominion of Canada are, one must bear in mind that the difficulties of bringing into close relation such a Dominion or such a Commonwealth as that of Australia are in the very nature of things far more formidable. You have what at the very best, I suppose, must be a six weeks' voyage to get from England to Australia, and under those circumstances I think that most people would say that it was a very arduous task indeed to think of having one parliament for such a Dominion and the Mother Country. Then when you come to the great Dominion, if I may use the expression, of India, the continent of India, there are difficulties of a totally different kind which are absolutely insoluble. I think we ought to seek to gratify the desire for closer union in another direction and that is by working on the basis or on the foundation which has been laid during the war, through an Imperial Council, for the purpose of considering all questions of an Imperial nature, questions which do not relate solely either to the Dominion or to the Mother Country but relate to the Mother Country and either the whole of the Empire or to some considerable part of the Empire. In such a council as that you will find that you fulfill the natural purpose for which a closer union is desired. It is on matters that affect the Empire as a whole or any great part that you want closer council, that you want closer co-operation, and I should myself deprecate frittering away the energies of those who are enthusiastic for a closer union upon an endeavor to amalgamate the parliaments, which appears to me, in the nature of things, almost impracticable. There must be parliaments in Canada and in Great Britain. You must have assemblies on the spot, but then there are matters which concern both and if you carry on the work which was conducted during the war, the participation of a great Dominion such as Canada in the councils of the Empire in common with the Mother Country, you do what is wanted and you do not take in hand a gigantic task which might involve you in wholly unnecessary difficulties.

You all know, gentlemen, the very distinguished part which, during the war, Canada played in the conduct of the operations against Germany. I need not again refer to the brilliant services you rendered in the field, but the services that were rendered in council were most valuable to the Empire, and I trust that we have learned a lesson how much co-operation between the Mother Country and the Dominions in council, as well as in the field, really conduces to the greatness of the Empire.

I hope that I do not seem inadequate in my views as to what can be done in the way of closer union, but the truth is that if you look into the matter the strength of the tie to a great extent consists in its looseness. Do not try to draw it too tight, keep a freedom of action in matters concerning each part of the King's Empire, retain that for common action, and see that you have adequate consultation of those who, when the day of danger and difficulty comes, are ready to take the field in defence of the common interests of all. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, the services of Canada in the field were in no respect more strenuous than in what they did in commanding and in working the air forces, the aeroplanes. The proportion of Canadians serving in the aeroplanes that were used during the war by the forces of the Empire was, I am informed on the best authority, very great indeed, and they rendered most splendid service. War is a great schoolmaster and aviation under the stimulus of war has made tremendous progress, and it does occur to me that that experience in aviation which was gained in the most exacting of all schools may in the days of peace be employed for abridging the time occupied in the passage of the Atlantic. Of course we all know what a future aviation probably has before it and in abridging the crossing of the Atlantic by using the air as a means of transit I believe that Canadians will be found foremost, as they were found foremost in using the air as the medium of conducting military operations during the war now happily ended. We will welcome everything that tends to draw us more closely together. The more we can see of one another the better, and I do not know how far off the day is when people will be able to use the air for the purpose of taking a week end in England. (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, will you allow me in this connection to pass to another topic which is suggested by the considerations that have been passing through my mind, and that is the question of the appeal from the Courts of the Dominions which now lies to His Majesty in Council. I myself value that appeal as a great element in the well being of the Empire as a whole. We have there an institution which is, I believe, valued by the Mercantile community in Canada. (Hear, hear.) It tends to a great extent gradually, insensibly and without any encroachment upon what would be the function of the Legislature, to assimilate commercial law which in its essence is the same or ought to be the same all over the world, and to assimilate commercial law all through the British Empire. In retaining that appeal I think in Canada you have the satisfaction of knowing that the great questions which arise in so prosperous and so progressive a country as Canada are submitted to a tribunal which from its familiarity with questions of a similar kind coming from all parts of the Empire is able to attain to a breadth of view which may be useful in promoting the development of the law and through the law promoting the development of the Dominion from which the appeals come. The first and the great consideration is to insure the most thorough efficiency of the tribunal and, as far as I can form an opinion from what has been said to me by Canadian lawyers, I think the general opinion in Canada is that the tribunal is an efficient one and does its work well. (Hear, hear.) At the same time I think there is no reason why it should not do its work even better and I should certainly welcome any well considered proposal for bringing the supreme court of Imperial appeal into closer touch with such a Dominion as Canada by securing the presence at the Board of those who are familiar with the working of the law of Canada upon the spot and are able to bring their special experience to bear upon the matters which come before that tribunal. I think that anything of that kind, if carried out, would tend to the advantage not only of the Dominion of Canada but of the whole of the British Empire with regard to other parts of which similar provision might be made. We have seen to a certain extent in Great Britain itself the advantage arising from one final tribunal of appeal. The law of England and Scotland in many respects is different. You have one tribunal of appeal, the House of Lords, where you have Scotland adequately represented,—some people say too largely represented, (Amusement.) but one great advantage has flowed from cases from Scotland and cases from England coming before that one tribunal, and that is this, that insensibly and without any undue attempt to alter the law, there has been an insensible approximation in mercantile matters of the system of law in Scotland and the system of law in England, and you get the very same thing throughout the whole of the Empire as long as you have the appeal to one central tribunal, that of the Privy Council.

Then there is another thing I want to say about the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It has lately shown what an admirable tribunal it is in questions of prize which have arisen during the war to a very great extent. You must have on questions of prize, where you have prize courts scattered all over the Empire, one central authority to which appeal should lie. You cannot find any better tribunal than the Privy Council with the functions of an Imperial Court of Appeal from the ordinary courts, and the functions of the supreme court of appeal in prize matters will, I trust, ever remain with the Judicial Committee. Now, gentlemen, these are matters which do not concern merely lawyers for the Judicial Committee has in exercising its prize jurisdiction asserted its independence in a manner in which the courts of the Empire may well feel proud. They have laid down in most explicit terms that the Judicial Committee sitting on appeal in prize cases is bound to administer the law, that it is not subject to have the law altered by Orders in Council or by anything except the authority of Parliament, and that the judges sitting there are bound to exercise their duty freely and fearlessly and that they are not as is the case, I regret to say, in some countries, to take their orders from the executive. (Applause.) It is a great thing to have had the independence of the Judicial Committee so authoritatively declared as it recently has been and in asserting that independence the Judicial Committee were but asserting the independence which always has characterized and which ever will continue to characterize the Bench of every part of the British Empire. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, we have other problems which will confront us for solution in the days of peace upon which we are entering, and I should like to say a few words, if you will allow me, as to the great desirability of as far as may be establishing peace not only between the nations but also between capital and labor. (Hear, hear.) Peace is essential in the interests of both. War industrially is just as detrimental to the employers and to the employed as war between nations is to all classes of every nation concerned. It has been said, and said with great truth, that war is the only game from which both nations concerned rise losers. Well, we are able to realize that even when we have emerged triumphantly as we have lately done. We find that the burdens of war are not inconsiderable and the tax payer is able to realize the truth of the old saying to which I have ventured to refer. Just as war is bad for both nations concerned, so is strife which sometimes takes place between capital and labor bad for both interests. The first necessity for the recuperation of this Empire after the great and exhausting war through which we have passed is that there should be increased production. (Applause.) It is an absolutely fatal policy to think of restricting production by way of increasing the remuneration of the workmen. He has nothing to gain in that way but he has everything to lose, and I trust that that truth is being realized, and I trust that every day it will be more and more realized by every workman who is entitled to consider and to have consideration by others the interests of his class as a part of the whole community on the prosperity of which the greatness of the Empire in the result depends. It is not as if there were locked up in some sort of warehouse a store of good things to be distributed if you could only get hold of the key. All that we enjoy, all that we have is the result of labor from day to day, and unless you go on producing day by day and producing more and more you dry up the springs of national prosperity, indeed you dry up the springs of national existence. I have often thought of the desirability, and the thought is not a new one for it has been widely discussed and widely acted upon I know in this great Dominion, of diminishing the difficulties between capital and labor by a system of profit sharing. I think it would be of inestimable advantage if the workman could feel that he was interested in the successful conduct of the business in which he is engaged, if he felt not only that the more that was produced the more his own individual interests in the shape of a share of the profits would be increased but if he could realize that it is necessary and proper in his own individual interests as well as in the interests of the employer and in the interests of the country as a whole to be economic in the conduct of his labor. If a man has an interest in the profits he will say to his mate if he sees him wasting, why, don't you know, you are wasting what would yield a profit to you and to me individually as well as to our employers? Let it be even a small profit, the stimulus of that thought that it is putting something into his pocket for the benefit of himself and his wife and his family, that will more perhaps than anything else stimulate the workman to the efficient and economical conduct of his part in the great forces of the industries of this country. I am aware in saying that I am only saying what has been said by many others and what has been acted upon by many others, particularly in the Dominion of Canada. The experiment was made, I think, first on a great scale after some great strike in connection with the supply of gas to London, and it was conducted with brilliant success. Objections have been raised against any proposal of the kind on the ground that if there is to be a share in the profits there ought also to be a share in the losses. Well, gentlemen, it seems to me that that, if it were true, would be a very formidable objection because if the partnership were of such a nature as to entail bearing a portion of the losses you, no doubt, would have a very great deal of friction and inconvenience created, but it seems to me for the successful working of any plan of that kind what you want is not really a partnership; what you want is that the workman should have something, an interest, in the nature of fully paid-up stock or shares in a company, if it is a company. I think that is the shape the experiment took in connection with the Gas Works in London. If the workman has one or more fully paid-up shares in the company given him as a bonus or as part of his remuneration then he will share in any profits that accrue and his dividend will be increased by increased production and by the prevention of waste in manufacture which goes to insure that production. In that way, of course, you will avoid any of the difficulties which, to my mind, seem to be inherent in any scheme for the complete partnership between workmen and employers.

There is one thing that must ever be borne in mind, and it is this: you must take very great care in devising schemes for the benefit of the workmen that you do not frighten away capital. If anything is done which would prevent money being put into new industries or being put into industries that exist, you would be dealing a blow not only at the prosperity of the country as a whole, but you would be dealing a very heavy blow at the interests of the workmen. The more industry can be extended, and for its extension capital is necessary, the more the workman will benefit, and if legislation with regard to such matters took a shape that frightened capital away instead of helping the workman you would hurt him.

Now, gentlemen, I have put before you frankly what I think about these matters. I do think it would be of very great assistance to the conduct of business if by some such scheme as I have suggested, if it is a company by giving fully paid up shares or if it is an individual carrying on business, or a firm carrying on business, by giving an interest of the same nature to the workman, then you could put a sort of bonus upon good and efficient work on the part of those concerned and it would very largely tend to prevent strikes. I mean men do not want to strike if they feel that they are injuring their own interests in so doing.

Then, gentlemen, there is one other matter on which I should like to say a word, and it is this: We all in this country, in this Dominion, prize freedom. Freedom is an inestimable boon, and all compulsion to work, all slavery, of course, is abhorrent to every instinct of men of our race; but there is another form of compulsion which, if all tales are true, is sometimes employed. That is not compulsion to work but compulsion not to work. Every workman ought to be absolutely at liberty in the exercise of his rights to work if he desires to work in his own interest and in the interest of his family, and it is the duty of the State to see that every workman is allowed to exercise that right without interference by those who have no legal right to interfere with it. (Hear, hear.) I have heard it said when this matter has been discussed, that a certain amount of compulsion of this kind is necessary in order to make a strike succeed. Well, I do not believe it. The strike is a very serious matter and it is a matter that ought only to be engaged in if there is a pretty clear case for it. It is, as I said before, in the nature of an act of war. Where there are circumstances which justify a strike you will have either the unanimous consent on the part of the workmen with whom the strike will lie, or so preponderating a consent on their part as to render compulsion wholly unnecessary, but I say, however that may be, it is a wrong and an immoral thing that any man should be prevented from doing his work if he has the ability and the desire to do it. (Applause.) To my mind nothing can excuse it. The right to use the physical strength and the brains with which the workman has been endowed is his by a far higher title than any right of property. It is a sacred right, and to my mind it is the duty, the first duty, of the State to protect every man in the enjoyment of that freedom, to protect every man who works if he desires to work, from any molestation by those who desire he should not work.

Gentlemen, this war will occupy a very great place in history. I have often felt some regret that the great American historian, Mahan, who dealt so ably and so convincingly with the influence of sea power in history, has not lived to write the history of this war. We have realized in this war that sea-power is vital to the Empire and to every part of it. (Applause.) It may be said now, as it has long been said, about Britain, that our home is on the deep. The home of the Empire is in the deep. It is the ocean that links together the Empire. It is the ocean that provides the means of communication, and if the control of that ocean were lost, if the sea power trident ever fell from the paralyzed hands of a British Government, why, there is an end to the greatness of the Empire;

there is an end indeed to the existence of the Empire. We do not mean that anything of the kind should happen. (Applause.) The Empire's sea power is vital to the Mother Country which depends upon the sea for its supplies of food to a very considerable extent, though not quite so much as it did before the war, and the existence of sea power is vital to the Dominions, more particularly the more distant Dominions, who want protection from those powerful neighbors who will be envious of their prosperity. What would have happened to the British Empire if it had not been for the predominance of the British Navy during this great late war? We all realize that, and we are not going to listen to any talk about freedom of the seas, (Applause.) which in most cases is merely a design to weaken the British Empire camouflaged under a show of regard for humanity. It is the British Navy that asserts and has always asserted the true freedom of the seas, (Applause.) and when any German statesman ventures to talk about the freedom of the seas one is tempted to tell him, do you call it having free seas that submarine outrages shall be perpetrated such as your submarines perpetrated under the direct orders of your German government? Gentlemen, the British Navy in this war was able to exercise a silent pressure upon Germany which was in its way almost as effective as those exploits in the field in which the whole of our Empire played so brilliant a part. We won on the sea as we won on the land and our victory, but for the work of the Navy done as efficiently as it was done in Nelson's days and with circumstances of as great heroism as ever marked the days of Nelson, would be lost. (Applause.) The efficiency of our Navy is a thing of which every one of us may well be proud and indeed every citizen of the Empire feels most legitimate exultation when he considers what the disregard of danger was, what the disregard of those long weary days and nights of watching in the North Sea and on the ocean were, what the sufferings of those who day and night looked after the safety of the country and of every part of the Empire were, and what was the devotion of those sailors of the merchant marine who defied the dangers of the submarine and went on with their duty as calmly as if the seas had been as free as they were before the submarine was invented. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, we have won the war by union and we will win our way through the difficulties of peace by union. Let us stick together, all parts of the Empire and all classes within every part of the Empire. "Let us stick together, Highlanders, shoulder to shoulder," was the old saying and with the British Empire and all parts of it shoulder to shoulder, all members of each part of it, shoulder to shoulder, we will be as triumphant in peace as we have been in war. (Prolonged applause.)

An eloquent vote of thanks was moved by Mr. Justice Riddell, who among other things said that to do away with the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council would be one of the greatest calamities that could happen to Canada.

THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF BELGIUM

AN ADDRESS BY HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MERCIER,

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October 14, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS, after the toast to the King had been drunk, proposed a toast to His Majesty King Albert of Belgium, and the orchestra played the Belgian National Anthem. The President then said: Your Eminence, Your Grace, my Lords and Gentlemen: Surely at this moment there is visualized to our minds a picture of great little Belgium. (Applause.) On one side of it we see devastated farms, destroyed homes, demolished buildings, and desecrated ecclesiastical edifices. On the other side we see gallant Belgian soldiers fighting shoulder to shoulder in an effort to stem the German hordes, and being driven back inch by inch because of overwhelming numbers, all the while praying "for night or Bluecher," France or Great Britain. Then we recall, surely, Punch's great cartoon—the Kaiser directing noble King Albert's attention to that picture, and with a sneer on his face saying, "Albert, you did not follow me, so you have lost all"; and King Albert, drawing himself up proudly, reply-

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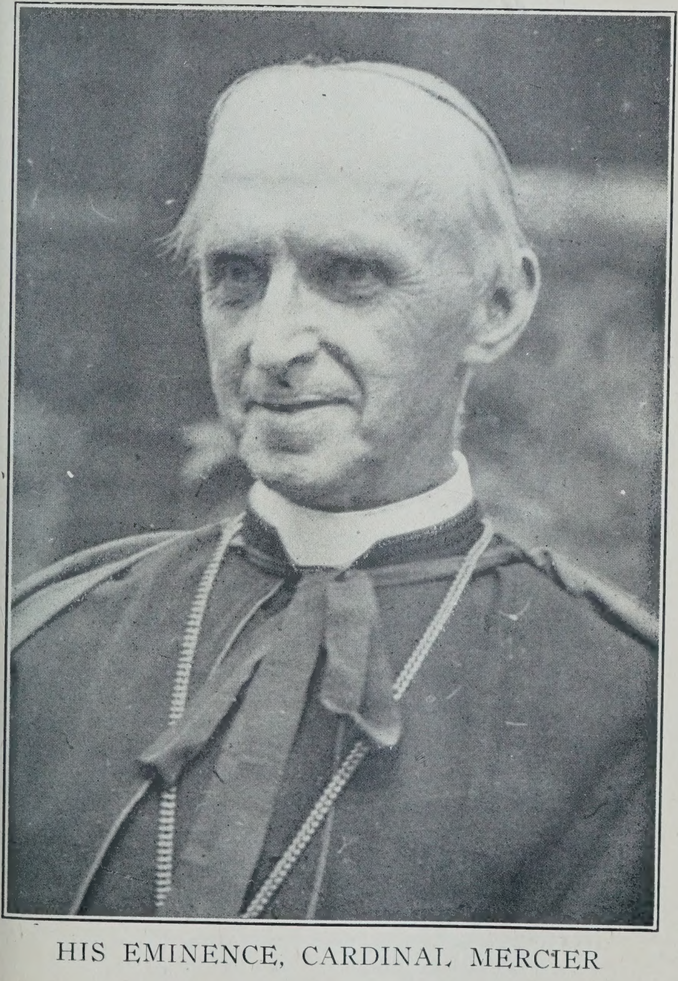
Cardinal Mercier well known as a scholar and leader in his Church before the War, became, on the occupation of Belgium by the German Army, one of the great world-figures of the war. His work for the suffering women and children of Belgium must ever remain an outstanding monument to his devotion and heroism. His tactful but unbending loyalty to Belgium throughout the war marked him out for periodical attacks by the German Governor of Belgium. The straightforward but exceedingly clever way in which he defended his position made a tremendous impression not only on the world at large, but also upon his enemies.

ing, "No, not all; not my soul." (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I am convinced that what King Albert meant was, not his own soul, but the soul in his keeping—the soul of Belgium—and he knew that soul was to be found in the breast of the fighting men and the noble suffering women, the little crying children, and the great pious man of God who ministered to them all through their dark, dreary days of trial and tribulation. I cannot say more, gentlemen; nay, I should not say more, excepting to remark that from the bottom of our hearts we appreciate the great honor that has been conferred upon us to-day by having Cardinal Mercier as our guest. (Loud Applause.) We welcome him not only because he is one of the world's leading educationists, not only because he is a Cardinal of the great Roman Catholic Church, not only because he is a true Belgian patriot, but because he is a great world figure who is admired, respected, and loved by the civilized nations of the earth. (Loud Applause.) I have the privilege and honor, gentlemen, of now introducing to you His Eminence, Cardinal Mercier.

CARDINAL MERCIER was received by the audience standing and giving three cheers and a tiger, followed by loud applause. He said: Gentlemen, I thank your President for having been so kind as to invite me here to your meeting. I appreciate the honor and the joy you give me. I wanted to come to Canada, although under the burden of my age I was hesitating for a while to come over either into the States of America or here, but I was encouraged by many of your compatriots, who were so kind as to call on me at Malines. I remember this good gentleman in France, who is at my right, (Rev. Dr. Cody) who encouraged me to come. One of my objections was the burden of my years; another was that I know so little of your beautiful language, of English; and I thought if I appear there and cannot speak, or speak bad English, it will be perhaps very annoying for my audience. Still, you were so indulgent that I became a little bolder, and now I speak, and I remark that you always accept my good will and forgive the mistakes I make. (Applause.) I found, from the beginning of my meeting with your



HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL MERCIER

compatriots, a very sincere, spontaneous sympathy between you and us. When I was in Malines your soldiers were such gallant and beautiful boys, that I was always edified by their sincerity, by their spirit of religion, by their respect of liberty for all, and also by that combination of qualities which their fathers inherited from Anglo-Saxon traditions, combined with a great spirit of resource and initiative. I may say that in you all I see the evidence of spirit, of activeness, of freedom, of personal responsibility, that makes a man, and I greet it in you men, and in the men who through all the centuries struggled to keep and maintain our liberty, and naturally we feel in sympathy with you. (Applause.)

Some minutes ago, at the City Hall, I recalled some testimonies of your admiration for our soldiers, and I will not repeat them here. I will say only this, that all through our fearful trials in Belgium, we knew that we might rely on you. It was for us a great military comfort to know that you were with the English, near the French, to support our great cause; and we knew what your men had done in Ypres, and in Flanders, in the first attack against the Germans. You were the first to take the offensive against them in Ypres. We knew that. We knew how many of your boys had fallen there, and now it is with respect that we worship their graves there. We have read the poem of your great poet about the fields of Flanders, and some weeks ago I was in those regions in Ypres, Nieuport, Dixmude, all those places where your men fell. I remember that when our party were walking there, and had come to that little river which is called Yser, we went through on a little bridge two or three metres long; and as we were giving each other our impressions, I remember that we both instinctively took off our hats with a deep feeling of respect for those men who had there given their life for our cause. I thought, "Those soldiers who gave their lives, they are all saviors, and the very saviors of civilization." (Hear, hear and applause.) We can never have respect enough, gratitude enough, for those men as examples to all the world; you understood from the first moment.

This war was not parallel with the wars of history; it was a quite new form of war. The Germans were not an enemy trying to rob or to conquer a province of another enemy. No, they were men, supermen, thinking they had to have what they called tyranny of humanity; they thought they could substitute might for right; and as soon as Belgium understood, as you understood, that the conflict was between might and right, we were at once all friends, all compatriots. (Applause.) I am sure now that for the future, for many generations, we shall always have before our eyes, and our communities will have before their eyes, two banners—one which has been painted in innocent, inoffensive blood, steeped in blood which is stained with the ashes of incendiarism, which is stained with poison gases, and its name is injustice, tyranny, cruelty. The other banner, our banner, honored for respecting the liberty of all, respecting God who personifies Truth, Right, and Justice. (Loud Applause.)

Well, dear gentlemen, if you will allow me, I shall give you, as I have been asked for it, some little incidents of my personal experience in the war. (Applause.) Although I always hesitate in speaking of myself, I know you like to know something, not of what the papers have said about the exterior events, but something with regard to my own personal soul, and it is just this that I like to say to friends. (Applause.)

Well, the most sorrowful moment of my life was in Rome in the first days of September—the second of September. The second of August the invader had come into Belgium. Our King of the whole nation had opposed the German proposition of saving our wealth by sacrificing our honor, and we went against the enemy; and I might say to you that I think there was no one man in Belgium who was not at the side of our great King Albert, by the side of our government, who said: "Perhaps we may be trampled upon by your might; we are weak and you are strong; and perhaps we shall be trampled upon, but we will never yield our soul; our soul remains free, and will be free to the very end." (Applause.)

After those first weeks of resistance I had to be in Rome, and being in the Vatican I was taking a little walk in the galleries of Raphael with my good friend, Cardinal Vecco, who had been in Belgium, and who had consecrated me bishop in 1906. We were good friends, and, as he knew something of our sufferings, he tried to console me. Once, at least, at the recreation after two sessions of the Vatican for the election of the Pope, he came to me and said, "My dear friend, the news about Belgium is not good." I understood that it would be bad, and I said, "It is bad, I am sure." He said, "Oh yes, it is very bad," And he told me that the papers had a telegram saying that the university at Louvain was burned; that my cathedral in Malines and my bishop's house had been bombarded; so in one moment I saw before my eyes the finish of those things which had been most precious in my eyes. In Louvain I had spent twenty-five years as a professor, and I saw before my eyes the beautiful galleries, not only of books and the archives, but the beautiful galleries of paintings recalling the memory of generations, all the glories of Louvain University from the fifteenth century till the last days of our existence there. As I saw all those glories which for us were inspiring, which were for our youth the greatest lessons in education, all in a moment finished, I thought also about my cathedral and my poor citizens of Malines. Still, our Lord gave me the grace not to yield to discouragement. I felt that if we relied on our Lord, such crimes could not go unpunished, and I was sure that we who are innocent could not be sacrificed for long; that we could rely on God's mercy on our side, and rely on God's justice which shall chastise the guilty; so I answered to my friend, "Well, they have destroyed all our treasures, but we shall reconstruct our Belgium"; (Hear, hear and applause.) and those who have been in Belgium during the war may tell you that, even during German occupation, many good men, workmen, a little of what we call *bourgeois,* the middle class of society, themselves restored by mutual help, their houses, their homes, their stores, their families. Brussels had been spared by the foe, because the Germans thought that Brussels could be one of their beautiful cities in the future; and some of my friends, being thankful for what I had done for our people, offered me a sum of money, and I said, "Very good, we shall employ that to build, under German occupation in Brussels, a technical school for our workmen." (Hear, hear and applause.) We did so, of course, under a name covered—camouflaged. (Laughter.) Well, they built the school, giving it the name of an orphanage. (Laughter.) "Orphan" is a word the Germans approved, and so we called it an orphanage, and the day of the Armistice they put outside on the wall a beautiful inscription, "Cardinal Mercier School." (Laughter and applause.) So the Germans had the privilege of seeing a technical school also built in Belgium. The copper for the sign had been saved, because you know they robbed us of all our copper, all our brass, all our iron, but so much had been saved and saved for the moment of the armistice.

I show these facts to prove that, in saying, "We will reconstruct," I was the interpreter of the soul of my people. (Applause.) At this moment we are in other conditions; many of you, business men, will, I think, easily realize our condition. For four years our workmen were deprived of work; 70,000 were taken away to Germany and doomed to hard labor; if they would sign an engagement to work voluntarily for the Germans they had promise of high salaries, help afforded for their families, and full liberty; but if they refused to sign engagements, they were sent away as prisoners doomed to hard labor. After some weeks or some months a good many came back home because they were exhausted, and the Germans thought that it would be better to send them back when exhausted than to feed them when but half alive, so they preferred sending them back home quite physically exhausted. In my house in Rheims I received hundreds and hundreds of those poor workmen, and when I was shaking hands with them and asking, "Have you signed an engagement?" they would say, "Oh, no, never," and, in fact, they refused the engagement, and they accepted hard labor, rather than be forced to work for the enemy. (Hear, hear and applause.) But such a people, having resisted through four years, thought, very simply, that as soon as peace should have been signed, they would return to normal conditions of life, their family home life. But now what has happened? Agriculture is saved at this moment, and perhaps you don't know why agriculture is saved. It is saved, and we owe that to you. Your army, before returning here, left in Belgium its horses, and we got from you Canadians a great many horses for agriculture, (Hear, hear.) and we are indebted, for the revival of agriculture, to the generosity of your government. I am sorry to report to you that our workmen are for a great part constrained to idleness, because during the war the Germans stole all the metals—iron, brass, and the engines of the manufacturers—they could use for themselves; and some weeks before leaving—before being expelled from Belgium, (Applause.) they systematically, with scientific methods, destroyed machines which they could not use for themselves. President Wilson has been there and has seen that with his own eyes, and many a one, I am sure, has been witness of that systematic and diabolical destruction of our engines.

Well, our workmen are there offering their hands, asking for work, and there are no manufactures open for giving them labor, so there has come a feeling of dissatisfaction; they are disappointed; they have dreamed of a continual picnic during peace, and now even the first conditions of normal life are not restored. Disappointment, you understand, is a very easy soil for the politicians, for the radical socialists, for Bolshevists—we have some of those—a very easy field of revolt, of excitement, and I may state that I fear more for my people at this moment than I feared ever during the war. I hope that we shall have the help of the great nations in securing machinery and the raw materials of industry, and I shall try to encourage as much as I can all to press forward the social work. We had a good organization of Christian syndicates. One of my priests had been here some years ago, Father Rittan, and you had helped him.

I shall try to encourage all social institutions, and I hope that so we shall co-operate in the reconstruction of the conditions of life in our country.

Coming back from Rome with the idea of reconstructing our Belgium, I found our people in very awful conditions—dreadful. During two months the Germans had added cruelties on cruelties. For instance, they had killed, without any appearance of reason, without any pretext of justice, they had killed fifty of our priests. In one little city where I had been once during the war, and once with King Albert, some weeks ago, to commemorate the ruin of that city, in Dinant—we had 6,000 men; 3,000 had gone away in exile, refugees in our land and in England; 3,000 remained in that little city. Of those 3,000, 650 have been killed, put to death, shot without any pretext or any reason. I have visited families for two long days, and I have gone into the homes, and nowhere could I see complete families. Everywhere the father had disappeared, the mother, the little children. Five little children, babies, aged less than two years, had been killed, shot in the arms of their mothers. One could not believe that, it is incredible, but these are facts. In Dinant, in the Ardennes and other places, they had taken our civilians as shields for their troops advancing toward the enemy, and so the poor people had been sacrificed by their cruelty.

The houses burned were innumerable. When I came home after the fall of Antwerp, in October, you can understand the condition of mind and soul of our population; they were terrorized; the aim of the German was to terrorize the community. I find no explanation for their cruelties; they only had in view the terrorizing of our people, and to make more easy the annexation of the country to Germany; that was their plan. Well, I found them in that state of mind, and then the problem before my conscience was this—and it was a very critical one—I said, "Shall I resist publicly the occupying power?" Many of my friends said, "Don't do that; if you do that the cruelties will be always more and more atrocious; we are a weak people; we have to undergo the conditions of occupation; if we resist, our lot will be worse; you may not resist in public; let us wait passively with patience and confidence in our God; let us wait the moment of our liberation."

At that time, in November and December 1914, no one in the world, I believe, supposed that the war would have lasted four years. Lord Grey had said in England, if I remember well, "Three months or three years," but no one believed that it could last three years; they said three months, perhaps four or five, but not more. Well, in that state of mind my friends said, "Let us wait, let us be passively patient." From another point of view, if I were resisting I was obliged to resist not alone; I had to rely on my priests, and to ask from them the same spirit of resistance; we had to be one against the foe; and they said to me, "You may if you like offer your liberty, and perhaps more, for your flock, but have you then the right to impose upon your priests such a sacrifice of their liberty and their life for saving our cause?" Those were two questions that were for some time before my mind, and gave me a great problem to solve. For the second point, I found a reason for my answer. I said, "Well, when war is engaged in, a general does not mind whether the lives of his soldiers are exposed or not exposed; he orders the soldiers to go, and the soldiers have to go. Well, I am a general; I am the chief of the diocese; I shall order my priests to go ahead, and they will go ahead, they will obey." (Applause.) For the first question, I said to myself, "All that I have known about the Germans proves to me that those men are cruel, strong, tyrannical, in the face of all that is weak; the German, taken as masses of men, as a machine, are terrible; but the Germans I have seen personally, I have always observed that each time I addressed them, boldly looking in their eyes, I have felt that I was stronger, although without arms, than they were. (Hear, hear and loud applause.) They had come, during the first months of the war, very often to the office of my administration to say, "You have to do that, to suppress that," and I always took an opportunity on their visit to tell them this, "I will not now discuss with you the beginning of the war; it is not for me to discuss that, whether you were right or wrong on the invasion of my country; but I take your own words. Your Chancellor said before the Reichstag that he knew that he was committing an injustice; and yourselves, when you asked to go through Belgium freely, you said you would repair the damages perpetrated by you; so you accused yourselves to have been unjust in invading our soil; you have confessed that you were unjust. Well, if it be so, if you are conscious of injustice, then during your occupation here you have to be as smooth as possible, as light as you can, to protect our poor people against the consequences of an act which you have acknowledged to be unjust. Well, you do just the contrary; you have perpetrated here cruelties and incendiaries; therefore I have to accuse you of failing in your duty as an occupying foe of my country."

Each time I was speaking so, I noticed a look that they were rather going back, bowing, and I became the accuser and they the accused, (Applause.) and my conclusion was that what they know they are, they will be, if I oppose their cruelties in public; and I decided to publish my letter, "Patriotism and Endurance" at Christmas 1914.

That letter was written a fortnight before Christmas and sent, by different ways, into Holland, to a priest who was there my delegate, and that priest was entrusted with the care to send my letter to France and to England; and so you got it in Canada and in the United States. When my letter appeared, I was sure that something threatening would happen. In fact, I gave the order to my priests, in instructions written in Latin—I suppose Von Bissing will not understand Latin, (Laughter.) and I said, "This letter I send you, of course by clandestine ways is to be read in all churches, whatever happens." All clergy were pledged to read it to the people from the pulpit in two parts. One part had to be read at the first day of the year 1915, which was a Friday, and the second part the third of January, on the Sunday. In fact, all my priests who had got in due time my letter, read the first part on the Friday.

On Saturday morning, at six o'clock in the morning, in the darkness of the day, three officers came in motor cars to my bishop's house. I was preparing to say mass. They called me. I came downstairs and I met the officers, and one of them asked me, in the name of the General Governor, Von Bissing, why I had written that letter. I answered, because I thought that I had to write it as a bishop for illuminating the conscience of my people, to tell them what is their duty in the present condition of occupation. "It is a political letter;" he answered "you excite the people to revolution against the occupying foe." I said, "No, I do not preach revolution; I preach liberty." "Well, you have written this phrase,"—and then he remembered the phrase where I said to my people, "My dear brethren, you have to respect the exterior regulation of public order, but in your conscience you have neither to give respect nor obedience nor esteem to the occupying foe. You have to keep your esteem or respect or love for our King Albert, and for our government elected by the people." (Laughter.) He said, "Well, those words excite the people." I said, "No; we have a French proverb which says, 'If you take two lines from an author you may have the means of hanging him;' but you must take that phrase in the whole context; and the whole texture of my letter, as a whole, is to fortify my people, consoling, but not exciting to revolution." He said, "Well, all that does not satisfy us; you have to come to Brussels, to the General Governor." I said, "Very well. When?" "Well, we don't know now; you will know that afterwards by telephone." I said, "All right; still I have an objection; I am free to-day, Saturday; I shall be free on Monday if you like; but to-morrow, Sunday, I am not free, I have to go to Antwerp for a religious function." He answered, "You have not to choose your day; you must be at our disposal as we like." I said, "To-morrow I am not free, and I shall not come to-morrow." (Laughter.) He went back, and being in Brussels, as I knew afterwards, he was embarrassed what to do (Laughter.) and he went to the Ministry of Spain in Brussels, Marco Delabar, and Spain being neutral he could have an interview with the Minister of Spain in Brussels. I learned afterwards what he said there in the interview. He said, "Well, what shall we do with that man there?" (Laughter.) Delabar said, "Well, pay attention; if the Crown Prince would make an offence here to anyone of your men, what would you do?" "Well, we should send him to the Kaiser, to his father." "All right; a Cardinal is of the family of the Pope; he belongs to the Holy See as one of the members of the Holy See; if Cardinal Mercier has done something wrong, offending, you send him to Rome." (Laughter.)

The poor man, more and more embarrassed, as I knew afterwards, then telegraphed to Berlin to know what to do. I do not know what was the answer of Berlin, but what I know is this, that we were gaining time so; and the embarrassment of the Germans was increasing more and more. My letter sent to France and England, some days before was known there, and when they heard—I don't know by what way—that the Germans were threatening my person, there was great excitement in England and France. The echo of that excitement came to Brussels, to the General Governor, and they waited more and more, (Laughter.) so that on the Monday morning I received a new officer, very gentlemanly, very polite, who came to Malines with two motor cars and soldiers. They were, with their arms, immediately to call at my house, for fear I should perhaps run away, and he came with a letter from Von Bissing—three great pages in folio, written in German characters—and he said, "Cardinal, I am despatched from the Governor-General, and you have to give an answer to the questions written here." I said, "All right." I looked at the paper and said, "But the text of the letter is written in German letters; I do not easily read that; will you be so kind to write it in other letters,—in Latin letters?" (Laughter.) I gave him a chair and pen and ink—"Sit down here." (Laughter.) That took one hour and a half. He wrote very clearly, very distinctly. I said, "No, I have to read it over myself, and I shall give you my answer to-morrow." "Oh, no, no, no, you have to answer immediately to that." I said, "But the Governor has had three days,—Saturday, Sunday, and Monday morning—for preparing his letter, and is asking from me an answer in two minutes. Impossible. Leave me your text in my hands, I shall answer at my leisure, and you will get the answer to all the points you require." He said, "No, no, I cannot leave your house before I have an answer." "As you like, but I take my time for writing my answer." And he remained at my house from ten o'clock in the morning till four o'clock in the afternoon. I have to take my leisure. I took my time, and I insisted to have him go back home and come this night, "with a new motor car, if you like." "No, I may not leave your room." I think they were sure I had the mind to run away. Motor cars were in the court of my house, and I remember a little detail; once I had to go from one side of my house to the other side, from the left to the right, the officers went the other side. I had to give instructions to my general vicar, and I went from one side to the other. Well, when I was passing from one side to the other, the soldiers sprang out of the motor car, took their arms, just as if a rabbit was running. (Laughter.)

So I read my letter very tranquilly, and wrote the reply, which I gave to the German Governor, and at night he went home. During the Saturday morning all the motor cars of the German foe in Belgium were in movement; they went through all the parish churches of my diocese, day and night, till the Sunday morning. They interviewed the priests, the servants, the sacristan of the churches, to get the letters which had been sent to be read on the Sunday morning. Many of our priests had foreseen inquiries, and they had taken a copy of my letter in their own writing, and when the soldiers came to require the letter some gave the letter very politely, "Here it is," and on Sunday morning they read to the people from the text written by their own hand. (Laughter.) Many others simply refused and said, "No, you cannot get the letter, the Cardinal has imposed upon us to read it, he is our chief, our authority, and as you soldiers acknowledge your military authority, we acknowledge our ecclesiastical, so you will not get that." Many were put in prison or fined for having refused the letters, but the fact was that on Sunday morning, in all the churches in my diocese without exception, the second part of my letter was read (Applause.) and the soldiers knew. It was a providential fact that all the soldiers knew that there was inquiry about the letter of the Cardinal of Malines, and they were all very curious to know what it was, and many of the soldiers, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, went to the parish churches to hear the letter, and a great many heard the letter, and so they could give some details to their families and friends in Germany.

Well, after that letter, of course, during three following days we had many conflicts with Germany, but my experience has been this, that at that moment of open resistance, still with respect to the exterior regulation and order of police, I respected the police, but nothing more; from the moment that I had defined before my people the Christian doctrine on authority, and when they had understood that an invader is not an authority—is a might, but not an authority—that the only moral authority was that of the King for temporal things, and that of the Bishop for spiritual matters—when they had made that clear before their conscience, and when the Germans had left me free, from that moment I said, morally speaking, we are the conquerors, we are superior to them, they are defeated, and now we may expect, with confidence in God, confidence in our moral strength, entire and final liberation from oppression, and a final triumph to our common cause. (Loud applause and cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT: The thanks of the Club for this interesting and eloquent address will be tendered to Cardinal Mercier by the Hon. Dr. Cody.

HON. DR. CODY: On behalf of the members of the Empire Club I would present to His Eminence our keen appreciation of the great honor he has done to our country, our city, and our club in giving us the favor of his presence. (Hear, hear and applause.) He has thrilled our hearts as we have listened to his words. We have felt that one of the great figures in the world's history has been describing to us some of the great events of history which he has been instrumental in bringing to pass. (Hear, hear, and applause.) We recognize in him the embodiment of that spirit that bade defiance to German might, and won the victory for the right. (Applause.) We recognize in him the embodiment of human endurance, the embodiment of noblest courage, the embodiment of simple piety, the embodiment of the shepherd's spirit, and the embodiment of that spiritual strength that believed that in due time God would give the victory to the right and the truth, and that God would strike down the oppressor beneath the feet of man. (Loud applause.) We greet him to-day as Canadians, and feel proud that we had any share in ministering to the relief of his suffering fellow-countrymen. In him we salute the soul of Belgium. (Hear, hear.) We salute him as scholar, professor, philosopher, prelate, statesman, patriot, and Christian. (Applause.) The motto, I believe, on his Eminence's coat-of-arms is—"Apostolus Jesu Christi"—"An Apostle of Jesus Christ"—"One sent by Jesus Christ"—and surely a man who in himself has embodied high patriotism, supreme courage, gentleness and tenderness to those in affliction, is a veritable messenger of Our Lord Jesus Christ. We greet him and welcome him, and in him again salute the embodiment of all those moral and spiritual forces that at last, under the blessing of God, gave us the victory. The motto of his country—Union is Strength—is a motto that we shall remember, and that we shall try to practise the world over; for he is not only a great theologian, a great churchman, but a great citizen of the world, and embodies in himself this motto of his country as applied to the whole round world—that it is the union of diverse national elements in common service that will make and bring lasting strength to the world. Vive la Belgique! Vive Mercier! (Loud Applause.)

BRITISH SEA POWER

AN ADDRESS BY COUNCILLOR PETER WRIGHT.

Joint Meeting with the Kiwanis Club—Under Auspices Navy League of Canada,
October 18, 1919.

The Empire and Kiwanis Clubs united to make this meeting a tribute to Peter Wright, the great leader of British Seamen, who so splendidly supported the Empire at war, and whose views on the rights and duties of labor, both organized and unorganized, during the reconstruction period and after, are recognized as both sane and strongly progressive.

The Toronto Male Chorus enlivened the proceedings with several songs.

MR. F. G. HASSARD, Vice-President of the Kiwanis Club, acted as chairman, and called upon Commodore Jarvis to introduce Mr. Peter Wright, which he did in a brief speech, referring to Mr. Wright as seaman, philanthropist, and orator. When Mr. Wright rose to speak the male chorus sang "Rule Britannia," the audience rising.

MR. PETER WRIGHT was received with loud applause, and said: Mr. Chairman and friends, I wonder how many of us here to-night realize the meaning of that song—"Britannia Rules the Waves?" It seems almost impossible for you, living so far from our seaboard, to recognize what the navy has done during the last five years,

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Peter Wright, Councillor and Trustee of the Seamen's Union of Great Britain was an outstanding leader in the organization of the forces of labor for the prosecution of the war. He was used as a secret service agent by the British Government and his almost miraculous escapes on a trip of investigation to Petrograd before the establishment of and throughout the Kerensky regime, mark him out as an outstanding athlete and a man of remarkable knowledge and ability.

or what the navy has done for the last three or four centuries. If you go back a few years' time you remember there was a Napoleon with an imagination that was too big for his body, and an egotism which is bound to spell failure to any man. He thought that he would like to be Cock o' the Walk and become lord and master of the Universe. Then we had Philip of Spain, and it was then that the navy secured liberty for the world and provided the right for every nation to determine her own soul and become the architect of her own future. Five years ago we had a joke—Dirty Bill—then the Kaiser of Germany; he thought that the time had arrived for him to control Europe and this continent, because he thought that he was a superman endowed with Divine power from the Almighty on high to dominate over humanity; but it was our gallant little silent navy that has brought him to the dust, down to his knees licking the dust. (Applause.)

And every neutral will tell you to-day, and every historian, that the naval power of Britain has never been abused by her. (Applause.) She has controlled the seas; she has given perfect liberty to every nation under the sun to carry on its commerce and its exchange of commodities and wares without any interruption by anybody. That gallant little navy has been maintained and financed by that little kingdom of ours in Europe which you could place in the heart of Lake Superior and lose sight of her; that little nation with her forty-eight millions of people has entirely financed and kept up that navy with all the pride that she could lay her hands on. Were I to give you the power of the navy, when I was in Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway since I have seen you last, those neutral nations told me that it was Great Britain and her navy through the blockade that defeated Germany; (Applause.) and you know that Tirpitz, with his long whiskers—Dirty Old Tirpitz—we will hang him by those whiskers before we are done with him. (Laughter and applause.) He told Gerard, the American Ambassador, just prior to America coming into the war, that he would bring Great Britain down to her knees by his submarines, and when Great Britain was defeated he would take our navy and with Germany's navy would come to the United States and this continent and get what they want. Have you ever realized what that meant? He would have bled every fibre in your anatomy; you would have been serfs under him, and your destiny would have been a curse under the control of the iron heel of Germany. But it didn't come off; oh no. He said our men had no soul; they were drunkards, contemptible men, men lacking the audacity and the tenacity to stand the brutality that he could bring to bear with his dastardly deeds through the submarines; but the men of the mercantile marine, like the men of the navy, stood like Britons in defiance of the brutality and the murder committed by their filthy hands. They were inoculated with the spirit of the navy. They would rather have died and gone into Davy Jones' locker than submit to the tyranny of old Tirpitz and that dirty gang that was ruling Germany at that moment. But I am pleased to-night that I had the privilege of being one of the men who dictated the terms of penitence that the Germans will have to go through, (Loud applause.) and as a sailor I cannot hate, because a man who hates is a coward, and oftentimes I have shaken hands with a gallant and honorable opponent, and the gallant little Welshman, our premier, (Loud applause.) stated only this week that he did not want us to ill-treat a bleeding opponent. We are willing to extend the hand of fellowship to the Hun when he is clean, and not until then. (Hear, hear and applause.) And that can't be done in a week; oh no. We have got to inoculate the brute by punishment (Applause.) and in the very near future we may take some of that fluid of his and make it subject to a critical scrutiny by an analytical chemist, and if the report is favorable we may alter our stand, but in the meantime no Hun will trample the deck of a British ship. (Loud applause.) In the meantime we are willing to give him an opportunity to become converted and to regenerate his dirty, filthy soul.

I just want to make one or two of these remarks to let you know that, now the war is over, we have not forgotten; and the voice of the deep is appealing to our hearts and mental capacity to do honor to the gallant dead who fought so nobly. (Applause.)

From what I have seen, the Hun has not repented yet; and I am making that statement very cautiously and very carefully. The Hun puts me in mind of a man who used to go down to the Salvation Army penitent form every time when he was stony broke, and become converted, and after he was cared for and received a new rig-out he went back again to his old wife until he was stony broke again, and then went back to the penitent form. Oh, we are determined for a real conversion.

Now, you know our mind on the navy and the mercantile marine. When this war was over I could see the opening of a new epoch, a new era. Dirty Bill stated that there was no affinity between Canada and Australia. He taught that when Great Britain declared war, you in Canada would sit down in your seats and lie on your beds quite unconcerned. He stated there was no affinity between the Dominions and the heart of the Empire. I wonder what he would say now? And now, when we have fought together, when we have suffered together, we are more consolidated than we ever were in the history of the world. (Applause.) I would like you to visualize with me and see whether we can create a structure at this moment which will bring us closer together by the affinities of love, and create an influence and power in conjunction with the Anglo-Saxon race in the United States of America, and create an influence which will make it impossible for any nation to go to war in future. (Hear, hear and applause.) Because, after all, I don't want war. War is the cancellation of reason; and after two thousand years of so-called civilization I believe that the time has arrived when we ought to be able to settle our disputes around the conference table by reason, instead of armies and 20-inch guns; but as long as you have men of the psychology of Dirty Bill, and a democracy that is so ignorant as to be led by a man like him, so long will you be compelled to have a navy protecting your interests, and protecting liberty and freedom for your destiny. (Applause.)

How are we to start? The majority of the people in the kingdom did not understand the geography, and unfortunately there are not many Canadians who understand the geography of Canada themselves; Canada was a mere name; but since this war they understand Canada; they understand her soul and they understand her psychology. I want you to make an effort; I want you to dedicate yourselves, your mind and your being and your citizenship, for the purpose of creating a belt going around the world that will become the greatest factor for civilization that the world has ever seen. Although I am a poor man, I feel proud that I am a unit in that great Empire, that I have the honor of sheltering myself under the folds of that Jack that has given a greater opportunity to its citizens than any other flag that was ever unfurled to the breeze in the world. (Loud applause.)

What is the first thing needful? In my own mind I am satisfied—and mind you, my learning is not book-learning, for I have travelled all over the globe; I have been in every nation under the sun; I have studied its conditions, and I know a little bit about the history, reading it in my own peculiar way—the University student doesn't always read history right, because I remember not long ago reading an account by a Frenchman of the battle of Waterloo. Then I read a German account of the battle of Waterloo; and I read our own account, and after reading the three I was between the devil and the deep blue sea; (Laughter.) I didn't know who won the war; (Laughter.) but this I do know, that we can only keep consolidated and keep our ties in contact by maintaining the supremacy of the sea, (Loud applause.) and I ask you and the Dominion to help us in that respect, to make up your mind for the supremacy of the sea in spite of all comers, whoever they may be. (Applause.)

Without our navy we will become isolated, helpless, and to a very large extent useless. I feel satisfied in my own mind that it is absolutely imperative to keep intact the navy.

Now, what is the position of our navy? Prior to 1914 we did not worry you; the tax-payers in Britain paid the whole expenditure incurred in keeping that fleet going. You as a Dominion did not contribute a dollar towards the maintenance of that fleet. Well, after five years of war we are in a devil of a hole; £8,000,000,000 is our national debt, and to meet the interest on that amount we will have to contribute £400,000,000 or $2,000,000,000 every year. That debt was incurred during the war. Now, as an ordinary seaman, not as a statesman, I ask you to come and help us, to contribute something towards that maintenance; or else follow the lead of Australia by providing some ways and means to protect and to safeguard your own coast-line. (Loud applause.) I think that is a reasonable proposition.

Now, there are difficulties in the way. When I go back home this time they want me to get into Parliament; and of all the infernal hells that I don't want to get into, it is the House of Commons. (Laughter and applause.) You know that when a man gets into Parliament he is damned. (Laughter.) I don't know why they are so eager to get there. Of all the peculiar people that ever I have met, the men in Parliament are the most peculiar. (Laughter.) I have been studying their psychology for twenty-five years, and I have given it up as a bad job. (Laughter.) They make you all sorts of promises; they will sit on the fence and watch which way the cat jumps, and then they act. We have some in Great Britain. I remember that in 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913 I went out with a man called Lord Roberts, and the politicians, Lloyd George included, mind you, said he was an old man who was getting softening of the brain, and not responsible for his actions; all my colleagues of the Labor Party called him a jingo; they said we had a wrong imagination; all the people in Parliament were trying to cut down the budget and the expenditure; and I tell you here and now that if it had not been for the Navy League in Great Britain and the eminent and capable men who led them I don't know where you and I would have been to-night, but they fought and they created a public opinion that so stimulated the enquiring capacity of our citizens in England that they compelled the politicians to move. They won't do it unless you hit them on the head with a hammer. They will hang on and they will camouflage.

Now, I don't come here to-night for what I can get out of it, for I travelled 2,400 miles to come here, and it is no joke living in hotels, and I can't sleep on railway trains; but I am coming here to-night to tell you that I believe that in your Navy League you have the finest organization that I know in Canada. (Applause.) It is controlled by far-seeing, clear-visioned, hard-headed, brainy men, men who are non-political; and it is a non-political organization whose whole aim and ambition is to keep the supremacy of the sea under the Union Jack. (Loud applause.) They are men who recognize the great hidden potentialities in Canada, and I agree with them. I do not know of any nation under the sun with the hidden potentialities that you have here in Canada. You have an immense future providing that you can train men big enough to see the innate hidden possibilities. Now, these men are of that opinion, and they have history to support them, that no nation can ever be great unless she has at her hand sea-power and a mercantile marine. You know that my friends over the border, in the land of Uncle Sam, have a great imagination. (Laughter.) They are friends of mine, you know, don't misunderstand me; it does not pay us to fall out with the United States, but I would like to tell Uncle Sam, in spite of the fact that he wants to have the supremacy of the mercantile marine, that Great Britain still has a little life left, and she is not down and out, (Applause.) and that that little spark is going to germinate and put her back into the position that she had as far as her mercantile marine is concerned. (Hear, hear and applause.) Lots of people on this continent imagine that Great Britain is in an awful state of anarchy. One American told me, "Great Britain is played out; you may as well shut up." I replied to him, very gentlemanly, that I didn't know any nation under the sun where there is likely to be hell with the lid off like the United States. (Laughter and applause.) Of course he was going by the newspapers, and you know you cannot always take the newspapers for gospel, though they tell me you do it here in Toronto; (Laughter.) but we don't do it at home.

I don't want you to be alarmed about Great Britain. I am in "the inner know," and this war has spiritualized every fibre in that little land. Of course there is a little bit of trouble, because we have a few men there who are eager to get back to pre-war conditions, but it is not coming off; oh no. It has been a political democracy in the past, but this war has humanized Great Britain, and in future it is going to be a real democracy where every man and woman, and every child, will have an equality of opportunity to get a fair start in life, and then to prove by capacity the survival of the fittest. (Loud Applause.) We are determined that every man and woman in future will have a decent house to live in, because, after all, God Almighty never intended a single section of the community to live in hovels where nothing but tubercular disease could result to the children. I believe this is a world beautiful with all the things that we need, and plenty for everybody. I feel proud of our leaders; they are men capable of taking the position of any statesman, men who have been educated through the university of pain, agony and suffering, men that are not swell-headed, men that have no personal ambition, only to alleviate and to emancipate suffering humanity. These men have behind them the whole labor forces of Great Britain, an army of six million men who can be controlled by them, and they are anxious and eager to see that in future, and as far as it is possible within the state, or for any statesman to remove poverty in all its horror and to remove unemployment, it shall be done. They are determined that in future it will be impossible for a multi-millionaire to exist, and they are also determined to recognize that that can only be obtained by constitutional means. You know that the last time I was here I told you what was going to happen. People called me a blithering idiot; but I knew what was coming. We have too many men who are eager to reach the moon with a boat-hook; they want to regenerate society in a week; they imagine that as long as we have more money and shorter hours, everything will be well. Using the words of Clynes, one of our labor leaders in Britain, and one of the finest men, when he appealed to the workmen there—and that appeal applies to you and to every other nation—"We can have an improved condition, but we cannot have better conditions and shorter hours unless we increase our production." (Loud applause.)

You know we have been living in a fools paradise for the last five years. It puts me in mind of a bloke that has a deposit in his bank and he is having a joy-ride and a bean-feast—nothing coming in, but he is continually drawing out. That is what we have been doing. We have been living on loans. Everything that has been produced was created for destruction, reducing your raw material all the while, and now we are coming back to our senses; we are like a bloke that has been on a booze for a month, and finally he can't get any more, not even Florida water, (Laughter.) and he comes to himself and he finds out that he has got to sit down to his craft and recover his normal psychology and get his organs back to normal condition. Now, that is our position, and that is what we as labor men realize. We don't want Great Britain to go down. Who would suffer more than the workmen if she did? Great Britain is the finest little land under the sun. (Loud applause.) We are suffering now, going through the acute agonizing labor-pains prior to a new birth, and we will come up, and we will become a glorious living example to the world. (Loud applause.) Uncle Sam is now only passing through conditions which we passed through twenty years ago. You know that all he has cared about was making the almighty dollar. They had ideals in their constitution, but they never practised them. We have had ideals, and we are living them out and working them out, and then you in Canada and over the whole of Europe, including America, will copy the example of Great Britain.

I am out for a new world, and I appeal to your manhood, to your womanhood, to the honor of those noble men who loved Canada, who fought for their motherland, and who are to-day buried beneath the soil of Flanders; I ask you for their sakes to dedicate yourselves for the purpose of creating a brighter and a happier world. That ought to be the ambition of every man, no matter whether he is a millionaire or not. The majority of our sane men do not believe in a class war. I do not believe in a class war. The millionaire is a product of his environment. Had I been born like him I would be like him in my actions and my ways. He is willing and eager and anxious to do the right thing. He is willing and eager to part with his millions if he could get the assurance that by parting with that wealth the future of society would be an improvement on the one that we have at the present moment. (Applause.)

I am pleased that the Labor Party is fighting the elections. I say to working men, don't rely on politicians; work out your own salvation; you have got the brain capacity; you have got the imagination; you have got the encouragement; you have got the tenacity. Select your own men, but while you are selecting them watch these fellows that are out for a good thing. Watch these fellows that are all jaw and no brain. You can't do much talking in the House of Commons, you know. You may have the gift of the gab, but that doesn't count for a great deal; it may cover newspaper space, but that is all. I know what I am talking about. I have been fifteen years in the city council; I have been on committees with the most eminent men in the kingdom, and they will respect you provided you have something else besides gab. (Laughter and applause.)

But I am afraid I am going away from the Navy League. Now, I would like you to support the Navy League. You say, "But what the devil have you got to do with the Navy League?" I am a member of Canada as well as you. I am a member of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) I am interested in you because you are interested in us. Your welfare is our welfare; our welfare is yours; we are inter-dependent on one another; that is what I would like you to recognize—inter-dependence—and I ask you to give your hearty support to the League, not merely in giving money—there are a lot of blokes that will give a thousand quid and think they have done well, but they have done nothing. I want you to give your earnest toil, your kind encouragement, your kind consideration, and at every available opportunity inoculate the ideas of its importance and show why others should support the League, and let them inoculate everyone in this wide west upon the need of a navy and the need of a mercantile marine.

I am going to give you some facts. When we started the war in 1914 we had something like 25,000 foreigners in our merchant marine. Why did we carry those foreigners? Well, the shipowners always thought that anything was good enough for a sailor. I went to sea for two pound ten a month, and they could keep me working for twenty-four hours out of the twenty-four. They fed us on dog-biscuits, and the place that we lived in I am sure no farmer out west would stick his cattle in. They always kept us down. We have converted them since the war. They carried those foreigners from an economic consideration, to cut us down. Well, the war started. Now, we had a hell of a time with those foreigners. (Laughter.) And mind you, I was right in the "inner know," right at the back of five or six men who knew it all; and a great number of those foreigners were working in co-operation with the Huns, and many a ship and many a life is down at Davy Jones' locker as the result. We found that we could not trust those men, because their sympathies were against our interest. Now, we are determined to create facilities in the future so that ships belonging to Britain will be manned by Britons, (Loud applause.) men imbued with British ideas. Now, I want you to support the League to give them an opportunity to train these boys that have a spirit of adventure and an inclination to go to sea. You know, they didn't make a bad one of me, did they? I went to sea when I was nine, and I have done everything under the sun except making money. (Laughter.) They wanted to give me honors. Just fancy sticking a Union Jack in a mud-cart! I told them I didn't want it.

Now, there will be room for your Canadian boys in your ships, and mind, they are not paying a bad wage now—thirteen pounds and a half, and the food is something decent, and we will make it better still. And I want you to support the League because I don't see that there is anything to prevent you building a mercantile marine to have a fair go with Uncle Sam, when you may carry your own commodities to any part of the globe. (Applause.) But there are a great many Canadian ships manned with foreigners; isn't that so, Mr. Jarvis? (Commodore Jarvis: "Yes.") My contention is that the men ought to be Canadian born, and you have got some splendid men. Some of those boys from the middle west and right throughout Canada brought glory to our navy; they performed heroic deeds equal to any that were done during the war; (Applause.) and mind you, some of those kids never smelled salt water in their lives, they came right away out of the green west. I want you to support the League to give encouragement to the boys—The Boys' Brigade, the Naval Boys' Brigade. Even if they don't go to sea, it will impress upon them the indelible stamp of courage and discipline that will be useful to them in their after life. You know that discipline is the thing we need to-day. Our liberty has to a large extent been converted into license. If you send those boys under the care of the Navy League they will add an asset unto their mental and physical make-up, and if they don't go to sea they will be more useful as citizens to the Dominion of Canada. (Applause.)

Now, I believe they are making a start to get half a million dollars throughout Canada. Well, I think you could do it in Toronto. I want you to do your best. I know you will, and I am eagerly waiting. They are going to wire me at Winnipeg, and I want to be able to sling my hat up in the air and say, "Good old Toronto." I want you to do your best. We can't do these things without money, and you have got some able men sitting on the platform here that are not getting a single sou nor any political consideration for all the toil and the labor that they are expending on this organization. (Applause.) I remember some time back when I could not sleep for the agonies that I was going through, and the suffering of our men that were drowned, the agony of the women and the children. The Canadian Navy League cabled to the Navy League in Great Britain, and we received a message from them stating that they would give us all the money that we required. I feel grateful to the Canadian Navy League. (Applause.) More than that, hundreds of men are physical and mental cripples. We established a home called Linfield. The Navy League handed over to me $200,000, and the finest room in that home has been dedicated, and will be opened by our Prince of Wales when he gets back home, for Canada. (Applause.) But while I appreciate these things, I am out for a big thing—Empire not merely in a material sense, but a great and mighty nation, a consolidated nation; and that can only be accomplished by being master in controlling the sea, and I want you to support the League in that particular respect; and I want you in future to dedicate your beings; I want you to dream to the stars, and fling your dares a thousand miles; I want you to realize that there are secrets yet hidden in the bowels of the earth and in the spaces above you; and the dirt beneath you contains temples of mystery. Of all the men and women that ever lived you are the greatest, and all that you have and all that you know are but the pledges of the glorious heritage to come. The past has been an era of ignorance, of cruelty, of pain, of suffering. The true chronicles of civilization have yet to be written. It took the human race centuries piled upon centuries to set its table and to prepare the scene for the twentieth century. A hundred years ago, machinery had just started to turn its wheels, human and animal power were the sole forces for production, there were no colleges, there were no law schools, women could not enter college, and flogging and wife-beating were special privileges with which the courts would not interfere; charity was a mere biblical injunction—a word, not a deed; superstition, ignorance, fatalism were the prime ministers that governed the human mind. Think what your fathers did for themselves. Just imagine them cutting down the forests here a hundred years ago, living against all the odds that you can conceive. They died so that you and I may live, and you and I are comfortable here to-night as results of our forefathers. Think what they did for themselves, with what inadequate tools, and with what inadequate information they wrought. If you dare to doubt, if you dare to falter, if you dare to cringe, you are a coward and a disgrace to mankind. I want you to rise, to get on and up, because there is a glorious dynamic future awaiting you. We want men. That is the need of the day, men like Lloyd George, (Loud applause.) a man who has given his all so that the Empire may live. The great and good God has imbued him with that power, with that tenacity, and with that courage that have brought us successfully through this war.

My appeal to you Canadians is to arise and make this country the greatest, the happiest and the brightest asteroid in this great solar system of ours. This is my prayer, and this is my farewell for you to-night. (Loud and continued applause.)

The Chairman: I am sure we have been inspired and enthused by this message of Mr. Peter Wright. We are aware that he has to leave us, but we are not going to say good-bye, but just good-night.

As Mr. Wright left the platform the audience broke out into cheering, and gave him also the Chautauqua salute. In response, Mr. Wright called for three cheers for the Navy, which were given with enthusiasm, followed by a tiger, and Mr. Wright left the hall to catch the night train on his return trip to Winnipeg, he having come to Toronto from that city specially for this meeting.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

AN ADDRESS BY DR. HENRY VAN DYKE.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October 25, 1919.

MR. ARTHUR HEWITT, Vice-President, extended hearty welcome to the ladies present. (Applause.) He thought great credit should be given to the Empire Club for selecting the occasions when ladies were guests. In anticipation of some of the good things which would follow, he read some of Dr. Van Dyke's lines, as follows:

WORK.

Let me but do my work from day to day,
  In field or forest, at the desk or loom,
  In roaring market-place or tranquil room;
Let me but find it in my heart to say,
When vagrant wishes beckon me astray,
  "This is my work; my blessing, not my doom;
  "Of all who live, I am the one by whom
"This work can best be done in the right way."

Then shall I see it not too great, nor small,
To suit my spirit and to prove my powers;
Then shall I cheerful greet the laboring hours,
And cheerful turn, when the long shadows fall
At eventide, to play and love and rest,
Because I know for me my work is best.

During the War Dr. Van Dyke was the Ambassador of the United States to the Netherlands, and in this position he came in intimate contact with the attitude of Germany to Belgium, France and neutral countries. He is well known as a great admirer of Canada, and has a strong position in the literary world as a writer of Canadian stories and other high class literature.

(Applause.) Dr. Van Dyke comes to us at the most opportune moment. During the past five years we have been passing through a troubled and turbulent sea. We have been hoping to come back again to some peaceful "Little Rivers." We trust his coming will be a source of strength and courage. We are quite sure that the atmosphere created by Dr. Van Dyke will be not only helpful to us, but that those helpful influences will be radiated far beyond the confines of this room. On behalf of the Empire Club we bid him welcome, and wish to express our gratitude for his visit at this time.

Dr. Van Dyke was received with loud applause, the audience rising. He said: It is a great pleasure to me to be at this meeting of the far-famed Empire Club, one of the very rare occasions when the ladies are present. (Laughter.) I take that, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith, (Laughter.) and I hope that the ladies will not be discommoded or inconvenienced by the rule which forbids smoking at this club. (Laughter.)

I have been in Canada every year for the past forty years, (Applause.) with the exception of the few when I was on the other side of the water, but always as a fisherman and a hunter, and that is why, to my regret and my shame, this is the first time I have ever been in Toronto. I am glad to be here now and see your fine, prosperous, vigorous, vital young city, built on the old foundation. (Applause.) It is a particular satisfaction to a man from the States to come to Canada now, because we have more memories in common than we had five years ago, (Hear, hear.) and having seen with my own eyes what your boys and our boys have done, I come to you to lay beside the maple leaf the laurel wreath of honor and renown for the soldiers of Canada. (Applause.)

Five years ago, in the summer of 1914, when I first arrived at my post in Europe, or at least began to get hold of the duties there, I found that one of the duties not strictly connected with Holland, connected geographically with Belgium, was to render what assistance I could, and make what promises I dared, in the way of speaking in connection with the proposed centenary of the hundred years of peace between the United States and the British Empire. That peace, as you know, was signed in the Belgian city of Ghent, and on both sides of the ocean, and on both sides of the Great Lakes, and away off in the far islands of the Australasian ocean, people of kindred blood were thinking together what a glorious thing it is that these two great countries, the United States and the British Empire, should have dwelt together, not in dull unanimity of opinion on all subjects, (Laughter.) but in real, true, practical peace, fellowship and concord. (Applause.) The very thought of that long borderland stretching from the mouth of the St. Lawrence out to Vancouver—which I do not desire to see blotted out by any annexation project, (Applause.) for I tell you, my friends, it is good to have a good neighbor, and it is not necessary that all neighbors should always marry, (Laughter.) that long borderland along which I myself have tramped, fished, and shot—without a fort and without an army of defence on either side—the thought of that magnificent inland sea without a battle-fleet or a war-vessel except such as may be necessary to keep order as police, is one of the most inspiring thoughts in our modern life. God grant that that line may endure, and endure as it is, unguarded save by mutual good will. (Applause.) All those preparations for celebrating that great victory of Anglo-Saxon ideals, the victory of the "men who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold that Milton held"—all preparations for celebrating that great event were swept away by the pistol-shot in Sarajevo and the crime at Liege. (Applause.) The trumpet of battle sounded forth, and the Lord of Hosts called upon his loyal legions to answer His summons, and to defend the eternal right and justice. I felt that call in my bones as I stood over there on the border of Belgium and knew the crisis which was brought home to Great Britain, and saw the danger and her way to meet it. I was then nominally neutral, and I was under responsibilities, and not intending to evade their binding and restraining force, but I wrote these lines, which were published over the name of "American Citizen":—

Will you go to war for a scrap of paper?
A mocking question. Britain's answer came
Swift as the light and searching as the flame—
"Yes, for a scrap of paper we will fight
Till our last breath, and God defend the right!"
A scrap of paper where a name is set
When strong as duty's bond and honor's debt,
A scrap of paper may be Holy Writ
With God's own sacred word to hallow it.
A scrap of paper holds the pledge of life
That binds together every man and wife.
Our name upon that sacred paper stands
Pledged to defend the little neighbor lands.
Yes, for a scrap of paper we will fight
Till our last breath, and God defend the right!

(Loud applause.) Well, He did defend the right, you see; and better even than the celebration of the hundred years of peace would have been in that fall of 1914 was the quick response of sympathy, in those who knew, to the spirit and action of Great Britain; and thank God, I had grace given to me to know that it was inevitable that we should stand in this great war against war, in this great fight for peace. Of course you saw it in Canada quicker than we did in the United States. Why, you would be ashamed of yourselves if you had not seen it quicker. You have a homogeneous population; you are closer to the facts; you have a tie that binds you to the Throne and the Crown, and you knew that that was in peril, and you saw it quickly, and that splendid mass of Canadian young men flung themselves into the conflict. When I was in London, in hospital, in the winter of 1917, I used to love to see those great big broad-shouldered chaps rolling along the street. You could always spot them; you could always know them; you could always tell them—but you couldn't tell them much. (Laughter.) I remember I was just staggering along, my head bound up in a bandage, and leaning on the arm of my boy who was taking care of me, and we passed five or six of those fellows, and one of the bunch said to the other, "Say, Bill, there's where little Georgie lives," and no one would ever take that as a mark of disrespect; it was a mark of affection. Look what those men did to prove their loyalty and their courage and their daring and their skill and efficiency as fighters at Ypres and at Vimy Ridge; and wherever they came they were known and feared by the people who had good reason to be afraid of them. Well, in that body of troops you sent over, I hear—though of course I am not authorized to know anything about it officially—that there were a good many boys who had been born in the United States, (Laughter.) In fact I know some of them personally, and not only in that Canadian army, but also in the British army. They were friends of mine, students of mine, boys that I had taught, and who, thank God, were true to the teaching, (Applause.) and in the French army there were a lot of them. And so it was that side by side these sons of Britain and America celebrated the hundred years of peace in fighting together against war, (Applause.) and they did it nobly and magnificently. Then on that day in April when I crawled out from my sick bed and succeeded in getting into St. Paul's and saw the Stars and Stripes and the standard of Britain's Empire hanging side by side in that great apse, and with it the songs of both countries sung together by that mighty audience, and felt the thrill of joy that went through all hearts, then I knew that, without planning it, by the providence of God, Great Britain and the United States had celebrated their hundred years of friendship and fellowship in the right way. (Applause.)

Now the war is won; won on the battlefield too; but fighting still continues. There are a score, perhaps a hundred places in Europe and Asia, where there is actual fighting to-day. There is a good deal of intellectual fighting, hard feeling, animosity, still floating in the world to-day, and there are some to whom the future looks dubious and doubtful. Now, you Canadians are like the people of the United States, a peace-loving nation of fighting men and women. We want peace; we are going to do our best to have peace, and to keep peace too, but for those who insist on breaking the peace, we shall endeavor to learn how to deal with them in the same spirit in which we dealt with the Potsdam gang. (Applause and laughter.) Is that all right, Doctor? (Turning to Rev. Doctor Cody, amid laughter.) I may say that that expression has been passed as correct and proper by the highest theological authorities, (Laughter.) including Cardinal Mercier. (Laughter.)

Now, what can we find to cheer us in the presence of these apparently threatening clouds on the horizon? What can we find to reassure us and to enable us to face the tasks and the difficulties which lie before us with that cheerful courage, with that dogged optimism, which I think is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race? Well, we can find a good many things. For peace between nations we can find the promise which is contained in the proposed League of Nations. That is a farther advance than has ever yet been made by the nations of the world in the direction of reducing war to a minimum and raising peace to a maximum. Now, please observe how careful I am in my statement about this thing—although I am a clergyman. I do not see that there is any prospect in it of absolutely abolishing war; because human nature being as it is, we cannot expect to do that unless, as Tennyson says, "A god shall mingle with the game." The Powers above us must help us, but we can reduce the occasions and the chances of war; we can make war more costly and more dangerous; and above all things we can manifest what is the real spirit and faith of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, that is, that war ought to become an anachronism, just as duelling has. Do you catch it? Just exactly as the duel has become an anachronism, and the person who in Great Britain or America or Canada fights a duel makes himself more or less ridiculous, doesn't he? (Hear, hear.) Well, now, we want that same process of thinking; we want that same method of acting to be applied in international affairs which has been applied by civilized society under the guidance of our ideals, to personal affairs; and for my part I cannot see any reason why it should not be done, and I firmly believe it is going to be tried. (Applause.)

Now, in regard to forces not between nations but within nations, here also the horizon is not altogether what you might call placid-looking, is it? A good many sharp conflicts apparently are coming to a head now,—conflicts of interests, conflicts of what is called class-consciousness. Dearly beloved, did you ever see a class-consciousness? Is there any class-consciousness which is not composed of the consciousnesses of the individuals which are in the class? Is there any morality for classes different from the morality which belongs to individuals? Go on with your duties, respect the rights and property of others, do your work honestly and faithfully, and uphold law and order. A class has no more right to set itself against these things than an individual has to set himself over against a class, which is simply composed of individuals, and you cannot get away from it; if you could you would reduce society to a mere dead mechanism, and for my part if I could not have Elijah's chariot to go up in I would like to go out west. (Laughter.) I do not want to live in a world like that; I want to live in a world where there are individual persons with hearts and minds and consciences, and a sense of honor, and a touch of good-will and brotherly kindness in them; I want to live among a people like that.

Now, the danger of the day is hysteria. It is not unnatural. Dear brethren, nothing happens to us that is unnatural; it is all natural, and if you like to try to understand and see the cause of things you can put your finger on them usually. We have had a terrible nervous strain, all of us. Even those who stayed at home had a nervous strain; and sometimes I think the strain imposed on the wives and sisters who stayed at home was the hardest of all. We have been through this grinding, straining thing, and we have come out with our nerves very taut, and sometimes rather a-jangle; otherwise I do not think the extreme statements which were made on both sides in the Washington conference would have been made. I think they were cases of over-strain of the nerves, that is what I think of those extreme statements. I am not going into that question, but I will say this—and it is a terrible thing to have formed a habit of preaching, because you never can break it—if we are going to pass through this trouble and anxiety and agitation and the somewhat conflicting times which lie before us, with safety, we have got to keep three things—*first, we have got to keep our tempers.* I will not enlarge upon that, and for a man of my disposition it is an awfully hard thing to do; but we have got to do it, and if we blow off our anger, and rail, let us try to blow it so far away that the sky will clear and we will be able to see face to face with our fellow-men afterwards. *Second, we have got to keep our memories.* We must not forget the lessons of war. We must not forget what has always followed, the attempt to establish communism in the world—ruin, disaster of the worst form, suffering specially for the poor people, and general hurly-burly and confusion. That is the history of the past without exception, and certainly, whatever line our modern education is going to take in the future it is not going to neglect history and humanistic studies—and I have seen some pretty good places for them lately. *Third, we must not forget recent history.* We must not forget what Germany did, (Hear, hear and applause.) and we must not forget what she came so perilously near doing. (Hear, hear.) What, you say, a Christian, yet we must not forgive and forget? Sir, in what part of the Bible does that text come—"forgive and forget?" It is not there. You cannot find it. It is not there at all. The Bible says forgive, yes, forgive on condition of repentance; but, as Cardinal Mercier says, the signs of repentance in Germany are not such that you would notice them—he does not use that language, but words to that effect. (Laughter.) No, we cannot forgive without repentance any more than God can forgive without repentance. "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us"; but as His condition is repentance, so ours must be repentance; otherwise the moral foundations of the universe crumble, and we are left in a world where good and evil are on the same basis, and we must give the same kindness to a felon that we give to a saint. (Applause.) No; forgive when repentance comes; and to some it has come, I believe, already; not to those high up—they may have remorse, but they have not got repentance, and remorse is a very different thing from repentance. Repentance means a change of mind, a change of heart, and I do not see any sign of that in the neighborhood of Amerongen or on the island of Wieningen. There are people in Germany who are not only sincerely sorry, but who realize that the path was a wrong path, and who would like to take a better path. People at large are not allowed to know much about it; they don't even know that their army was licked. Forgive? Yes; but forget? No. Kipling's Recessional says, "Lest we forget." Men and women, there are things that by the price of our soul's life and freedom and salvation we must not forget. (Hear, hear.) There is honor and faith and love and friendship and loyalty. There is the brave and pledged resistance to tyranny and oppression. There is a standing for the right against the wrong which we must not forget; and we must not forget, and I hope to God we never may forget, that your boys and our boys fought and bled and died together in that cause, and that God gave them the victory. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: On your behalf I want to extend to our guest of the day our sincere gratitude for his address. We will go out of this place better than we would be if we had not heard what the Doctor has given us to-day. On behalf of the Club I extend to him our most grateful appreciation of his inspiring words. (Applause.)

SOME OF CHINA'S PROBLEMS

AN ADDRESS BY DR. CHARLES W. SERVICE.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October 30, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: When the whole civilized world is seething with so much industrial and political unrest it is refreshing for us to have the privilege of having a message from that haven of rest, China. (Laughter.) Our papers are teeming with indications of those upheavals to which I just referred, but we do not find anything about the Chinaman striking for higher and still higher wages, and then howling his head off about the high cost of living. We don't hear anything about the Chinaman urging his government to put certain great reforms on the statute books, and then promptly voting that government out of power. Nor do we find him building up a strong platform of religious doctrines, and then meeting in his assemblies and conferences and synods and jumping at his brother delegate's throat in an effort to break down that platform. So I say it is refreshing to have a message to-day from the country where such things are not taking place. We are fortunate in the medium through which this message is coming to us. If he were an insider looking out, so to speak, a Chinaman, we might feel that he was more or less prejudiced, and painting his picture accordingly; but as he is an outsider looking in, a Britisher, a Canadian who has been seventeen years in that country, knows it from top to bottom, and in and out and around, we will hear a real historic account, I am

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Doctor Service is a graduate of the University of Toronto in Arts and Medicine. He went to China seventeen years ago and since that time has been engaged in medical work in the Province of Sze Chwan, the largest and most populous Province in all China.

sure. As to the medium, Dr. Service is quiet and modest, but a very able man, who is so anxious to keep abreast of the times in his profession that early in the year he came to Johns Hopkins University to take a post-graduate course in their surgical department, and I am perfectly convinced that if he wanted to stay there they would have made his stay a permanent one.

DR. SERVICE: With all the remarks of the chairman I do not know that I am in perfectly hearty accord. Perhaps you may not think the chairman was altogether right in some things he said, before I have finished. When asked what I might speak to you about this afternoon, I thought perhaps the most interesting line I could follow would be something about some problems of China.

Chinese problems are very numerous. If we were to talk about all the problems of China I am afraid you would be here till to-morrow or next day, or perhaps the next week. Among all those problems I shall merely mention three or four, and I may enlarge upon them a little more in detail. Being a medical missionary, I suppose I am allowed to quote a verse of Scripture. There is a verse of Scripture which says that "No man liveth unto himself, and no man dieth unto himself." That may be applied to nations, and I think you will see the application of that text of Scripture this afternoon as I proceed. We are going to talk about China, and I think you will agree with me that China cannot live to herself, nor can she even die to herself. We are living in a great bundle of nationhood nowadays, and what is the concern of one is the concern of all.

The first problem I will merely mention; that is the problem of approach. The east is the east, and the west is the west. One of the first things we have to learn when we go to China is to get the Chinese point of view; not only learn the difficult Chinese language, but see things the way the Chinese see them, because the Chinese thought-channels are almost the antithesis of those of western minds. Therefore we have to become accustomed to the Chinese points of view.

The second problem is that of language and literature. I cannot discuss this, but simply want to say that the Chinese language is one of the most difficult of languages, and it is a great barrier for the Chinese people themselves. I say it is a great barrier, not because the Chinese people are unable to acquire their own language, that is, in the way of speaking it, but because it is a very difficult language for the average Chinese to learn to read. But it is a great problem to the world, because now that China is developing and her economics are unfolding and her educational system seems to be extending, and many other conditions are changing in China, her language forms one of the greatest barriers in the way of Chinese progress. The result is that during recent years, especially the last fourteen or fifteen years, arrangements have been made, mainly on the part of foreigners resident in China, to contribute largely toward the unfolding or the evolution of the Chinese language, so that now we have thousands of books that have been translated into the Chinese language, and foreigners are assisting, especially in the development of the scientific nomenclature of China. The Chinese mind is not a scientific mind; it never has been; they have never had any scientific terms in their language. The result is that the moment one begins to teach or talk about anything scientific—medical, dental, nursing terms, physical terms, chemical terms, biological terms, theological terms, or business terms, are all perfectly new; and the result is that foreigners have had to assist the Chinese to add tens of thousands of new terms to the Chinese language. The Chinese also, with the help of the foreigners, are now undertaking to develop and to propagate throughout the country what is known as the new system of script, really a Chinese system of shorthand, which will do very much towards the increase of the Chinese literature. That is another one of the problems.

The third one is the problem of industry and commerce. This is a huge problem which one cannot develop in detail, but I simply want to say that after a residence of seventeen years in China, I have come to the conclusion that potentially, at least, the Chinese people and the Chinese country are capable of immeasureable expansion. The Chinese people are innately a great commercial and industrious people. I do not believe there is a more highly developed people in the world, with a commercial sense and with commercial aptitude, than the Chinese people. Then from the point of view of Chinese resources it is impossible to exaggerate those conditions. I can merely refer to two or three outstanding features of Chinese industry and commerce. First of all, take the coal. There are immeasurable quantities of coal in China, so much that experts who have investigated conditions there have claimed that there is sufficent coal in China to supply the whole world at the present rate of consumption for the next thousand years. Then take, for instance, one of the latest developments. In the central part of China, the province of Yunnan, which has until the last fifteen years been the most anti-foreign province in the whole country, in fact many foreigners, especially missionaries, have been rioted out of this country, especially out of its capital city of Tong Chau. During the last two years especially it has been found that the province of Hunan is one of the most resourceful of all the provinces, especially in the line of antimony; it is said that eighty per cent. of the world's output of antimony is now found in that one province, in addition to tin, zinc and other metals in this great city of Changsha, which has time and again rioted foreigners out and destroyed their buildings. That city is being completely reconstructed; the old city wall of that famous old Chinese provincial capital has been completely demolished, and where it formerly stood is now being made into a great boulevard. In addition to that, wonderful highways are being constructed in and around the city, and this is a new feature of Chinese development. In addition to that, a great railroad has been built from Changsha hundreds of miles into the cities of Hankow and Canton. To those who know the conditions of Chinese mind and attitude, it is wonderful to think of that province coming forward in industries and commerce. I wish I had time to allude to the possibilities of the milling of flour and the production of oils. Up to very recently the world has known scarcely anything about the enormous productivity of the Chinese in the way of oils, vegetable oils especially. You have all heard of the soya bean, which is now being exported to foreign countries to the extent of thirty millions of dollars worth a year, and in the United States its oil has formed a large percentage of the soap that is being manufactured. Then there is another oil called wood oil, manufactured from the tona tree, and this has been exported from China in recent years to the extent of millions of dollars, and is the basis of the best perfumes that are now being made in this and other countries. These are merely extras; I have not time to refer to the great cotton industry. China is perhaps the greatest manufacturer of cotton goods, cotton yarns, and cotton manufactured goods in any part of the world, and the demands the Chinese have now for all sorts of cotton textile goods are simply amazing. Textile mills are being developed at Shanghai and other large cities, and millions of money are being invested along those lines. I cannot follow this line any further, but I simply want to urge this, that in the development of Chinese commerce and industry, the foreign governments and foreign peoples must assist the Chinese in the solution of these great problems.

China has a wonderfully fertile people and a wonderfully fertile soil, so there is an illimitable amount of human labor. Her natural resources are so great that there is, potentially at least, an enormous amount of capital yet undeveloped; but meanwhile foreigners have to go into China and help her develop those great natural resources and utilize what is there to be found in the way of human material and natural intelligence, frugality, and many others of those splendid qualities of the Chinese, utilize those in developing for China her own industry and her own commerce. Before many decades have passed I am quite sure you will find that the Pacific Ocean has become one of the great theatres of commerce in this world. We know that in the course of history civilization has gradually passed from the ancient Nile and the

Euphrates across the Mediterranean, and later across the Atlantic, and finally across the great American continent, and it is now beginning to cross the Pacific, and you will find that in the not distant future the Pacific Ocean is to be one of the great regions for the development of commerce.

As to transportation and communication in China I have only a word to say. One of the greatest needs in order to develop the industry and commerce of China is greater facilities for transportation. Now, China is very fortunate in having some very splendid waterways. If you study the map of China you will see what splendid waterways she has. Here is the Yellow River in the north. This river is one of the most devastating rivers in the world, because annually it carries off hundreds and thousands of people. It needs attention given to it. A few million dollars, with splendid engineering skill applied, would make that river one of the greatest rivers in the world. Here is the great Yangtse, navigable for a thousand miles, and the upper Yangtse, one of the most difficult rivers to navigate. I have been up and down this river six times. The first thousand miles are splendidly navigable, and they have fine steamers all the way through, right into the heart of Szechwan. The upper Yangtse is navigable by Chinese boats, but not till late years have they had anything but light draught steamers, and those have not been a success. An expert says that with the expenditure of only $500,000 the upper Yangtse could be put in much better condition for navigation. This province in which I live, called Szechwan, has four streams, because three or four splendid tributaries of that river in that one province fall south into the river. Those splendid highways gather to their common centre. In the northern part of China there are very few of those great waterways; most of them are down in the south.

The misery is that six-sevenths of the total population of China is to be found in one-third of the area of China, that is, down here in the south and along the east. That is perfectly natural. Now, there are millions and tens and hundreds of millions in the interior of China. Up here in the province of Szechwan, my home, the largest province of China, the most resourceful of all the provinces of China, we find the largest population of any province of China. There are approximately seventy millions of people in this province, and yet they are not closely packed. We can travel for miles and miles in the upper country, the mountainous districts, and never see Chinese. With the development of railways this interior part of the country will open out.

At present China has only 6,500 miles of railroad. Before the war there was also 2,400 miles of railroad under construction, but the war prevented the construction of even that 2,400 miles. Before the war there were concessions granted to foreign companies and syndicates for the construction of 14,000 miles of railway; but what are they among so many? I understand the United States has somewhere in the neighborhood of 150,000 miles of railroad. This is a larger country than the United States with Alaska thrown in, and obviously this country needs 200,000 miles of railway. You can understand the difficulty under which the Chinese are laboring, and will labor in the years to come, in the way of developing their industry and their commerce.

A word as to the financial situation of China. This is one of the greatest of all the problems that China has to face. China is practically bankrupt. That is true notwithstanding the fact that China is perhaps the most resourceful country of all the countries of the world. I make that statement without reservation, but her resources are undeveloped. She is potentially the richest country in all the world, and yet she is bankrupt. Her treasuries have been ruined since the war broke out, through the condition of turmoil, fighting going on all over the country, especially in the southern part, and there has been little peace. By nature the Chinese are a peaceful people, but the ferment for fighting seems to have gotten in among them, and they have had rather an unquiet time during recent years. All these conditions and the European war, which has completely demoralized exchange, and which has robbed the country of a very large supply of her original stock of silver, together with the general brigandage throughout the whole country—because there have been hundreds of thousands of brigands let loose in that part of the country, so that the Chinese themselves have been unable to do any business, much less the foreigners—have demoralized Chinese finances. The result is that in order to carry on the internecine warfare that has been going on in China for years, the so-called Northern Government—as a matter of fact there is no government at the present time—has been borrowing money by the tens of millions from Japan. On what guarantees? Of course Japan, being a very astute nation, has demanded satisfactory guarantees from China. The result is that Japan at the present time has practically control of a great many mining concessions, a good share of the small amount of railway mileage of the country, and many other things that are in China.

That is a very serious situation. China is practically under the financial thumb, at least, of Japan at the present time, and this problem of China can only be solved by the co-operative help and the sympathetic help of all the nations, I mean of the larger nations. But former methods of finance in China have not been very satisfactory, and it is realized now, on the part of financiers and governments, that there must be a complete revolution in the attitude of foreign powers financially towards the Chinese people in order that the Chinese may rehabilitate itself. The foreign governments must take hold of this financial problem and assist the Chinese in settling their affairs, and not leave it solely to Japan.

Then a word as to the political situation in China. It is certainly a very sad one. China has been seething with nationalistic movements. We have heard of them in India and Japan, and that same movement has been stirring China during the recent years. A very wise man wrote two books known as "China in Convulsions." That term strictly applies to China and has applied to China during recent years. There is no such thing as a settled government in China to-day. The only government there is, the only attempted control, is military authority. The army is composed of men who are noted for beating, for looting, and for robbing, and the great majority of the soldiers under their control are nothing but brigands and ruffians, and they have robbed the whole country and kept the country in a state of ferment. In my own work in this capital city of Chengtu, in my own hospital, we have had many hundreds of wounded, and in our own city we have had thousands of killed right within the city walls on account of the fighting within those areas. China has retrograded politically in recent years; she has lost Formosa, she has lost the suzerainty of Korea, she has practically lost the southern portion of Manchuria, south of the capital city of Mukden. I say she has retrograded politically. You have all heard of foreign concessions. There are many of those foreign concessions throughout the country. There is what is known as extra territoriality in China. That is an ignominious thing. The Chinese judicial system, Chinese customs and the Chinese salt monopoly are all under the control of foreign governments who depute men to organize and control; and by the way, it has been a mercy to the Chinese nation that that system has existed during recent years, because the salt monopoly and the Chinese customs have brought in millions of money to the so-called Chinese government in the north that the Chinese government would not have otherwise had, and the saving of the situation so far as politics and finance in China has been from the presence of foreigners in that part of the country.

I cannot stop to discuss the relation between China and Japan, but I want to say a few words about the diplomatic situation in China. The Chinese are not a people to be feared; they are a peaceful people; but I want to say that the world cannot be made safe for democracy until China herself is made safe for her own peaceful people and for all law-abiding foreigners who live in the country. I think that is an axiom of law. Now, there are several things which make any portion of the earth a diplomatic danger-spot. Some of those features are these: There is the vast area; China, with her enormous population, has not extensive markets; defencelessness; and a corrupt government. You find these things inside everything in China, and these make China a diplomatic danger-spot at present. The dangers are in two directions—first, in isolation, and second, in exploitation. You cannot leave China alone; China will develop, and if we attempt to leave China alone she will develop along her own lines, therefore there is one line of danger which we must avoid. In the next place, we must not allow China to be exploited by any sinister power or powers. The line of procedure is therefore to protect China against all external aggression and against all internal exploitation. Speaking of China's external aggression, it is the government and governmental authorities that must handle that sort of thing to secure China. Speaking as a missionary I say that the missionary propaganda comes into China to secure the proper and satisfactory development of the human material in China, and that obviously must be done.

I just want to refer in this connection to how this can be done. I want to say a word about the medical problem in China. It is a huge one, and there is not time for discussion of it, but I want to say that you cannot rear a strong nation on the basis of weaklings. Now, the Chinese are a strong race physically, but after I have said a few words you will understand the terrific ravages of disease amongst those people. In order to make China a safe place for her own people and a safe place for the world I want to emphasize a few features about the medical situation in China. In the first place, look at China from the point of view of public health. There is no such thing there as a public health bureau. There is what you might call a latent sanitary conscience, but it is exceedingly latent; but what we foreigners have to do is to draw out from the Chinese and build up that latent sanitary conscience. Look at China just for a moment. 400,000,000 people, constituting one quarter of the world's population, resident on a continent which contains more than one half of the total population of the whole world, living under the physical conditions in which the Chinese live. I say this is a menace to the world, and as foreigners we cannot afford, quite apart from any humanitarian or missionary considerations, to neglect China from the physical point of view. No one knows the birth-rate; no one knows the death-rate. A mere guess would say the death rate is forty per thousand; that is at least double the rate of our own country. We estimate that 2,000,000 Chinese die annually from tuberculosis alone; that anywhere from seventy per cent. to eighty per cent. die under one year of age; that probably thirty per cent. to thirty-five per cent., some doctors say even more, babies die within the first month of infancy of lockjaw alone, and we know of the ravages of plagues and zymotics of various kinds; we know that 67,000 people die under seven years in the northern part of the country as the result of Manchurian plague, or, as we know it, the bubonic plague, with 100 per cent. of mortality. Why do not more die? Simply because the eight or ten or twelve missionary doctors in northern China fling themselves into the breach against that terrific plague. Now, had it not been for those foreign doctors tackling the Chinese government and forcing them to take action, that plague would have spread not only over northern China, but down the coast as it did last year when there was a recrudescence of the plague condition at Nanking, the old capital, and carried off two thousand Chinese there, and was again stamped out by the foreign doctors. You can imagine what would happen if a plague like that got loose without any attempt at quarantine, with the increase of commerce, with the hundreds of steamers. We are always lined up at the foreign steamer, and our teeth and hair and skin are examined. Why? They are afraid of us clean foreigners bringing in some disease. How much more must we be careful when we have to face the problem of Chinese and Japanese and Hindus coming into our country. We have to be careful. So from the point of view of selfishness alone we have to consider China that way.

There is only one way to solve this physical problem of China, and that is by means of medical education. We have tried hospitals, and we have tried many other things in China on a small scale, and as one doctor has said, in China we are getting nowhere. One old doctor friend of mine who has been in China twenty odd years said to me, just before I came home, "Service, I have been working away here for over twenty years, curing itch and other things, and there is just as much itch to-day as there ever was in China. I am going to quit curing itch, and I am going to teach the Chinese how to cure it." That is just an illustration of what we will have to do. It is an impossible task for the Christian church in western lands to import 400,000 nurses, 200,000 doctors, and 70,000 dentists into China in order to meet the needs of China. That is a physical and a financial impossibility. You cannot secure the men, you cannot secure the money, you cannot provide the equipment necessary for them; it is impossible; therefore the only way to tackle the problem is through the medical education of these Chinese. The medical association has undertaken to do the work with the great Rockefeller foundation, who are going into Pekin in the north and Shanghai in the south, and the great centres in China in which medical education will be done. There are other centres, including Chengtu, in which I live, in which a great effort is being made to outfit dental, medical and nursing institutions. Here is a great problem which we shall have to face, and the new opportunity is opening up before the Christian world not only along industrial, commercial, financial and other lines in China, but especially along the lines of reconstructing China socially, morally and physically. From that point of view a new opportunity, nation-wide in scope and world-wide in its possible influences is unfolding before the Christian world, and we must be ready to meet the situation.

Just a word about the educational situation. Here is another problem, and the Chinese are not able to tackle it. They have tried it, but have not been able to succeed at it because of their troubles in the war. There is ninety per cent. of illiteracy in China, and the foreigners will have to solve that problem. Missionary education has been responsible for the new educational system governing in China. During my day alone there has been a complete turnover of the educational system. When I went to China I saw the old educational regime, with all its outstanding features, including those "stalls," and I saw them right there in my own city of Chengtu, but those have disappeared, and in its place is a new city government institution. The Chinese governmental educational system is based upon that of the missionary schools in China, and I want to say that that educational system in China has been largely developed by men of the type of our own Mr. Wallace, son of Professor Wallace of Victoria University, who has organized the finest educational system in all of China, and we are the model in west China where that has been organized.

I want to say a word about the moral problem, the social problem of China. I will just merely refer to it. We have a great question of housing and cleaning up the homes of China so that they may build new houses and live healthfully in their new homes. We have the great problem of the manhood of China and the children of China who live under the most indescribable conditions morally, physically and intellectually. They live in a constant moral miasma. We have that social problem of life, and the Chinese are helpless, they know nothing about it at all, and we simply have to impart our great social ideas and outlooks and features into that country. That is why we are there as foreigners. I work no eight-hour day out there. I would far rather be there than here, but we need thousands more of the best young men and women we have in our lands, and import them bodily into China, with tens of millions of money, together with proper plans to work with, and we will go a long way towards cleaning up China.

Just a word about the moral problem of China. This is a big subject, and I am not going to speak too strongly about it, but I want to say that the Chinese have had a fight on, a great political fight. They have overturned their form of government. They have become a sort of quasi-republic; it is such in name only, but they have made the attempt, and they are going to have a greater trouble to clean up China morally. We have the problem of opium, the problem of alcohol, and of the social evil with its result and venereal diseases; and again, I say, they are helpless, and it is a great problem that the foreigners must help China to solve. Just think of it; the Chinese have demonstrated their fine moral fibre, their strength of character, in what way? Well, you know a little about onslaughts the Chinese people themselves made on the opium evil, and how they practically eradicated the opium evil in China. They went at it in a more masterly way and realized better results than we have in this country in attacking the alcohol evil. I know what I speak of, because when I went to China I saw the fruits of the opium traffic; for hundreds and hundreds of miles along the river I saw the opium growing—a beautiful sight to the eye—but during the last twelve years I have not seen a stalk of opium; they have demolished the whole business until, during the war, when there was so much internal trouble, you would expect a certain amount of recrudescence. But unfortunately China is up against aggression at the present time, and Japan is the aggressor, and last year she introduced eighteen tons of morphine. Now, if you know that morphine is given in a small dosage of a sixth and a quarter of a grain, eighteen tons of opium, with all the implements of injection, landed from Japan into China is a menace. Not only that, but Japan smuggled into China last year over two thousand chests of opium. What does that mean? You have all heard of the opium burning undertaken by the Chinese last year. I want to mention that here, because it reveals the Chinese strength of character. There was a residuum of opium yet in China to the extent of 1,207 chests, and the Chinese government, with all its panic and bankruptcy, actually spent thirteen millions of dollars in buying out that residuum of opium, not to make medicine, but to burn; and they spent three weeks in China in burning thirteen millions of dollars' worth of opium. Where does this opium come from, that Japan is importing into China? She does not produce it herself. Unfortunately it comes from India, and here is where we will have to get at the problem. We will have to stop the importation of opium from India into Japan, because it is simply a method for getting it into China.

A final word about the religious problem in China. Sometimes we hear an evangelistic missionary talk about China, and the question is put, "What place do you find out there, anyway? I could see room for a doctor, and for a nurse, and for a teacher, but what are you out there for as a preacher?" Well, I am not a preacher, I am a doctor, but I practise a good deal, (Laughter.) and I just want to say that the evangelistic work in China stands for three things: Firstly, it stands for new standards of morality and spiritual experience. Secondly, the evangelistic work in China brings to the Chinese a new tonic; and in the third place, it emancipates Chinese from the great spiritual captivity which breaks the spirit of the people. I have lived in China for seventeen years, and I know how the Chinese live under the spell of idolatry, and I know that the air in China and the earth in China and the water in China, everywhere above you and below you and around you, is peopled with devils and demons and ghosts, and the whole mass of the people are living in that dread atmosphere of fear, of despair all the days of their lives, day and night. Now, how can you attempt to construct democracy on a basis of that kind, with people living in horror and dread and fear as a result of that belief? Are those things for which the Christian religion stands needed in China? Well, I have spoken about the physical conditions in China, public health, etc. and I want to say that perhaps the most stupendous failure in China is the moral failure; and it is that which the Christian religion, through the medium of its missionaries, and its great boards, and the millions of money it is pouring into China, has to face. There is that great universal corruption for which China is known; how are you going to stem that tide of universal corruption? How can you develop a strong, healthy nation from a nation living in such conditions? We have to introduce a new business morality into China. An undeveloped state of common belief is a menace to the whole world; and while we may leave it to railroad constructionists and diplomats and politicians and many other residents of China who must all contribute their share in the reconstruction of China—and a large share, a very large share must those men contribute toward the reconstruction of China—I want to say that we missionaries, whether doctors or nurses or ministers or teachers or translators, or whatever we are, we missionaries have something to take to China which is quite as essential to the Chinese people, and perhaps in some senses more fundamental, and that is why we are there. (Loud applause.)

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: You indicate by your applause that you will agree with me when I say that that was a perfectly marvellous address. The doctor had an address which ordinarily would have taken an hour and a half, and he put it into thirty minutes. I want you to accept our thanks, Dr. Service, for this wonderfully interesting and inspiring address.

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES

AN ADDRESS BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES

Joint Meeting with Canadian Club, Massey Hall, November 4, 1919.

MAJOR PERCY BROWN, President of the Canadian Club, Chairman, in introducing the Prince of Wales, said: On behalf of the Empire and Canadian Clubs I very cordially welcome this audience here to-day. It is a pleasure to have on the platform some of the original founders of these Clubs, Col. Mason, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh, Mr. J.

The address of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales here published will undoubtedly be recognized as a State Document of exceptional importance, in defining the relation of the Crown to the British Dominions overseas, and the conception which our future King has of the duties and responsibilities of the office. It stands as not only the most important pronouncement made by His Royal Highness during his wonderful tour of Canada, but also as a fitting culmination to that tour, containing, as it does, the outstanding impressions left upon his mind by it.

On his leaving Canada the following message was addressed to Admiral Sir Lionel Halsey by the President of the Club:

"On behalf of Officers and Members of the Empire Club of Canada please convey to His Royal Highness our sincere good wishes for a safe journey and at the same time express to him our appreciation of the honour bestowed by him on the Empire Club by the address which he graciously made to our Members. Please also express our deep feelings of loyalty and devotion with the earnest desire that his visit, which was so fraught with such happy results, may be repeated in the very near future."

To this message the following reply was received:

"The Prince of Wales thanks you most sincerely for aurevoir message and sends his best wishes and aurevoir to all members of the Empire Club."

(Signed) Admiral Halsey, "Renoun."

P. Murray and Mr. Castell Hopkins of the Empire Club, and Col. McCullough of the Canadian Club. (Applause.) These founders laid admirable traditions in the old days, and the success and influence of the Clubs is in great part attributable to those traditions and the wise guidance the Clubs have received ever since. Our gratitude, then, to the founders of these Clubs. It is very gratifying to the founders and members to be present at this historic meeting of both Clubs, quite the most memorable, I think, in the history of the Clubs. (Applause.) Of late, since the arrival of His Royal Highness in Canada, we have all been conscious of a wave of enthusiasm spreading through and dominating the country. (Applause.) One is reminded of the joyous entry of King Albert into Brussels in November 1918. Those of us who were present can remember the thrill that one felt as the King swept through the streets and up to his palace. This enthusiasm, which has been so cordial, can have but excellent results, and will unquestionably deepen and enrich our sense of loyalty to the Crown, and it will also give a new sense of solidarity among the people of this country. (Applause.) I venture to think that this visit of the Prince will mean much to Canada, as his visits to the rest of the Empire will mean much to the Empire. (Applause.) During his very short visit here His Royal Highness has added one title, and a distinctly Canadian title, to those he already had. Our Indian patriots, with picturesque aptness, have acclaimed him as Chief Morning Star. (Applause.) The name is well, and I think prophetically, chosen. The omens are all favorable, and this visit of the Prince will usher in for Canada a new day, a day full of wide-flowing influence and high achievements. On behalf of this great audience, Sir, I tender to you, in their names, our highest and most loving welcome.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES, was greeted with loud applause, the audience rising, cheering and waving handkerchiefs. He said: I was very much disappointed when I was last in Toronto not to have been able to accept your kind invitation to lunch, and so it is a special pleasure to meet so many members of both the

Canadian Club and the Empire Club here to-day. I am delighted to be back in Toronto again where I spent such a wonderful three days and where I was given such a good time last August, though it is a relief that this is not an official visit. For this reason, I look upon this gathering as informal and ask you not to expect an oration, but merely a simple attempt on my part to describe my feelings at the end of my two and a half months tour of the Dominion.

Since I was last in Toronto I have been right across the continent to Vancouver Island and back again which enables me to look better on Canada as a whole, and I think I can best express myself in military terms. The western provinces are like the outposts of the nation, held by most gallant and enterprising outpost troops, who are continually pushing forward into the No Man's Land of the great Northwest. Ontario and the east is still the main body of the nation and the main line of resistance, and I congratulate you on the way in which your fine position is organized.

I was much impressed by all I saw in the west and was attracted by the young and free spirit which I found there, and realized what a great future and development lies before it. Now for the last three weeks I have been back in the east travelling in Southern and Western Ontario and I have seen the country round the shores of your great lake, which was the scene of the fighting a century ago which saved British North America for the Empire, and was thrilled to think of the splendid fight which your ancestors of those days put up. I have also been much impressed by the orderly and settled look of the whole country, which bears a strong resemblance to English countrysides, and is such a great contrast to the west. Knowing that Ontario was practically entirely virgin land only a century ago, I am full of admiration for what three or four enterprising and vigorous generations can achieve.

But this last three weeks enables me to realize that the notion that the East of Canada is mainly industrial as compared with the West, which is agricultural, is wrong.

I now know that the agricultural produce of Ontario is the largest in the whole Dominion, and that your agricultural activity is as important as your industrial activity. This impresses me because it makes me feel that Ontario comprises all the problems of the Dominion, and must, by the way in which it deals with its own problems, exercise, in some respects, a decisive influence upon the whole destinies of Canada.

I am particularly interested in the agricultural side of Ontario, because I have become a farmer in a small way myself and have bought a ranch in southern Alberta where I hope to start in very soon and ultimately make good. As you know, farmers in the west think themselves a very important community and I see that the farmers have recently been asserting themselves in Ontario too; but let me assure you that I intend to be a very simple sort of farmer who will not go in for politics or try to upset your ideas in any way. As a brother farmer, however, I should like to pay a tribute to the farmers of Ontario, who have always been a very wholesome, energetic and respected section of the community. I know they, no less than the rest of the community, will always remember to think of the wider interests of the nation as well as of their own, as it takes all kinds of interests to make a great nation, and Canada cannot afford to be one-sided. I hope, therefore, that Ontario will set a lead by showing how all may pursue their own legitimate interests without forgetting the welfare of the Dominion and of the Empire as a whole.

The welfare of the whole Empire is, after all, the big question for all of us, and it has taken a new shape since the war. Because of their whole-hearted participation in the great struggle, the Dominions have entered the partnership of nations by becoming signatories of the peace treaties, and members of the Assembly in the League of Nations. The old idea of an Empire handed down from the traditions of Greece and Rome was that of a mother country surrounded by daughter states which owed allegiance to that mother country. But the British Empire has long left that obsolete idea behind, and appears before us in a very different and far grander form. It appears before us as a single State composed of many nations of different origins and different languages, which give their allegiance, not to the mother country, but to the great common system of life and government.

The Dominions are therefore no longer colonies; they are sister nations of the British nation. They played a part in the war fully proportionate to their size, and their international importance will steadily increase. Yet they all desire to remain with the Empire, whose unity is shown by common allegiance to the King. That is the reason why, if I may be personal for a moment, I do not regard myself as belonging primarily to Great Britain and only in a lesser way to Canada and the other Dominions. On the contrary, I regard myself as belonging to Great Britain and to Canada in exactly the same way. This also means that when I go down to the United States next week I shall regard myself as going there not only as an Englishman and as a Britisher, but also as a Canadian, and as a representative of the whole Empire.

But, of course, this change of system within the Empire puts a new and very difficult kind of responsibility upon all of us. The war has shown that our free British nations can combine, without loss of freedom, as a single unit in vigorous defence of their common interests and ideals. The unity of the Empire in the war was the feature least expected by our enemies, and most effective in saving the liberties of the world. But now that the war is over, we have still got to keep up that standard of patriotism and unity of which we showed ourselves capable during that long struggle—we have got to keep it up all we know. Unity and co-operation are just as necessary now in peace time as during the war. We must not lose touch with each other or we shall lose all that we have won during the last five years by our common action and effort against the enemy.

I have only one more thing to say, gentlemen, and I ask you to again forgive me talking about myself. I need not tell you how deeply I have been touched by the wonderful welcomes which have been given me in every city, town and hamlet, which I have visited in the great Dominion. These welcomes have been quite overwhelming, and I can never be sufficiently grateful to Canadians for the warmth with which they have received me, nor can I ever forget it. It is only repetition when I say that I hope to be often in Canada again and in Toronto, where I have had such a wonderful time, and I will try never to forget the great kindness which you have shown me this year. As you know, my right hand has been out of action for nearly two months. When asked why I shake hands with my left hand, I always reply that my right hand was "done in" in Toronto. Though painful at the time, I shall always look back on that as a great compliment. But, gentlemen, I am not conceited enough to accept these welcomes as personal to myself and realize that they have been given to me as the King's son coming to Canada as the heir to his Throne. My first visit to the great Dominion has made me realize more fully than ever what a great privilege and what a great responsibility that confers upon me, and I value these welcomes all the more highly because they have come from the Canadian nation as a whole, from all sections of the community, whatever their race, whatever their party, whatever their education. I ask myself, what does that mean? It means, I think, that the Throne stands for a heritage of common aims and ideals shared equally by all sections, all parties and all nations within the British Commonwealth. No government represents or stands for all parties or all nations within the Empire. But despite this there is a common sentiment which is shared, not only by all nations within the Empire, but also by all political parties within each nation. We all know this, because it was this common sentiment which made Britishers stand together in the great war, and I realize that this same sentiment has been expressed in the wonderful welcomes given to me in Canada as heir to the Throne.

I am afraid, gentlemen, that I have departed from my reserve and talked about myself a good deal too much. But I wanted to tell you, as the largest audience I have been privileged to address in Canada, what I feel about my position and the responsibility which it entails. I can only assure you that I shall always endeavor to live up to that great responsibility and to be worthy of your trust.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your Royal Highness, on behalf of the Canadian and Empire Clubs, we gratefully accept this message to-day, and, in conveying our thanks, may I add that these great Clubs will always be behind the Throne and the Empire. (Loud cheers, followed by the National Anthem.)

THE PRESS AND THE EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY SIR HARRY BRITTAIN, K.B.E., M.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, November 11, 1919.

MR. A. E. GILVERSON, Chairman, said: Gentlemen, on this first anniversary of the memorable day that witnessed the glorious vindication of the cause of the Allies in the field, with the words of the King fresh in our minds calling upon us to exercise venerable remembrance, I take it as peculiarly fitting that we should pledge our beloved Sovereign, and I ask you to rise and drink the toast to the King. (After the toast, and the National Anthem, the chairman proceeded.) I want to say how glad I am to have with us so worthy a representation of our own Toronto press. (Applause.) We are here to greet a veteran of the craft and to enjoy the treat we have in store. If I were to say a word of our press it would be this, that in sane thinking and in clean writing they are easily the peers in personnel and practice of any

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Sir Harry Brittain visited Canada many years ago, and on that occasion was struck not only with the prevailing ignorance of the Mother Country about her sister nations, but the ignorance of those great nations about one another. It was this thought which prompted him to originate and later to organize the first Imperial Press Conference which was held in London in 1909. His present visit to Canada is in connection with a similar Conference which is to be held next year. He is a member of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute and of the Central Committee of the Overseas Club, and through his interest in the Empire he has written a book on Canada, and in many ways has done much to draw the various parts of the Empire closer together. In 1902 he was one of the founders of the Pilgrims' Club, in connection with which a great American newspaper said that he was "perhaps the most active living champion of fraternal Anglo-American relations." During the war his activities have been so numerous and many-sided that it is impossible to mention them in detail.

journalistic group this side of the big water. (Applause.) We of the Empire Club naturally have a warm place in our hearts for a man who devotes his splendid abilities and rare talent to the patriotic work of building up the Empire. In the person of our distinguished guest we have such a man, one who, by his achievements in the world of journalism and of letters, has won international fame (Applause.) as an outstanding champion of fraternal Anglo-American relations, suggesting strongly all the possibilities of Anglo-Saxon entente, as a pioneer in the movement for the promotion of knowledge between the different parts of the Empire, one of another. I have very great pleasure in introducing Sir Harry Brittain.

SIR HARRY BRITTAIN was received with loud applause, and said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Empire Club, I have come over on this occasion for a brief nine days' visit to Canada to accomplish certain work and to receive a tonic. I sincerely hope that some of the work may be accomplished, and I have no doubt whatever about the tonic. I put in a certain amount of preparation for this visit in August, for I went up to latitude 80 north and spent six interesting days on the Island of Spitzbergen, which should be of interest to Canadian citizens, for it is entirely surrounded by the national drink of North America—ice water. (Laughter and applause.) Among the many kindly invitations that were awaiting me from innumerable American and Canadian friends, the vast majority of which I was unable to accept, there was one from the Empire Club and from Toronto, and the names of both seemed good to me, (Hear, hear and applause.) and therefore I gave your chairman roughly the date when I expected to be in Toronto, and afterwards arranged with Mr. Coombs definitely for to-day. I was rather bothered as to what line of talk I would inflict upon you, but as I was coming to Canada for a certain purpose I thought I might take the opportunity of saying a few words upon that purpose, hence the title, "The Press and the Empire." I am ashamed to say that my intentions of preparing an address have been entirely torpedoed, and since I sent the telegram I have been absolutely inundated with work, and at the moment am striking for a 12-hour day. (Laughter.) When I fixed to-day as the date for my address I did not realize that I was fixing a date which will be forever a letter-day of gold in the common history of our Empire—(Hear, hear and applause.) the day on which the Teuton colossus, after four years of struggle, fell. (Hear, hear.) There is no Britisher alive who has been through that day who will ever forget it, in whatever part of the Empire he may have been. It was my good fortune to be in the centre of our old Empire, in London, on the day of the armistice.

I remember so well the crack of the maroons at eleven o'clock in the morning—the crack which on earlier occasions gave information of another kind, a visitation from the sleuths in the air; but we all knew on Armistice Day what the maroons were for, and there was a common impulse in the hearts of the Londoners to make our way to the palace of our King. (Applause.) From every part of the great metropolis armies of Londoners and those who temporarily sojourned in London made their way to Buckingham Palace, to form around it one of the finest and most enthusiastic crowds I have ever witnessed. All our race were there, and it was indeed a glorious family party. (Applause.) My wife and I took our two small children to what we felt sure would be scenes they would remember the whole of their lives, and they were lifted up by soldiers of Canada and Australia to see their King. (Applause.) Never will I forget the cheers which rent the sky as our democratic King stepped out to meet his people—the King who has in very truth worked as hard for this victory as did any of the subjects of his realm. (Applause.)

What our great Empire did during the war we all know, and to-day we were also reminded by the two minutes' silence, the beautiful idea which has run around our Empire, of those splendid millions of the dead who are no longer able to celebrate with us these armistice days, but without whose noble sacrifices there would have been no armistice days to celebrate. We shall never forget their memories. The prowess of the great dominions we know well in the Old Country, and I think from time to time we did our best, in the press of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, to say what we thought of the gallant deeds of the men from overseas. (Hear, hear.)

As an Englishman I am not ashamed of what our little island did. (Hear, hear and applause.) We are told that we Englishmen are bad advertisers. Well, it may be so; at any rate, we did our best to do our duty, and we are perfectly prepared to leave it to the verdict of history to say whether that duty was properly done. (Applause.) We fought together for the ideals of our race, for that freedom and liberty recognized in days of Magna Charta. Only recently a well-known American, in a speech at Pittsburg, asked himself the question why Westminster was known as the Mother of Parliaments, and he gave his own answer in these words: "Because all the political and religious liberty which the world enjoys to-day had their birth on that island." Well, gentlemen, we have together gained a great victory, and we must see to it that having gained it we do not let it slip away. (Applause.) We are in very truth to-day sister nations; we must see that we really co-operate together from a common centre, and we must see that we put in every effort to work together for our common benefit. (Hear, hear.)

I was asked on entering the hall just now if this is my first visit to Canada. I have had the pleasure of travelling your great Dominion from end to end fifteen times, I think, and have visited it north and south from Yukon to Labrador. I think it was about twenty years ago when I made by first visit, and I am reminded by a little slip which I believe was sent around to the members of this Club that I was guilty on that first visit of writing a book, and I really feel that it is up to me to explain that impertinence to you. (Laughter.)

I will tell you why I did it. As I wandered through the great Dominion and made my way to the west I was somewhat annoyed to find a very curious idea of the average Englishman. I soon discovered the reason. The reason was the individual known as the "remittance man" (Laughter.) who seemed to be about the only type of individual from the Old Country who had ever wriggled beyond the Great Lakes. Well, I determined in some way to try and fix that if I could, and so I wrote a book—not in any shape or form to inform Canada, but trying to do my best to persuade a few educated English friends that here was one of the finest tourist grounds in the world, and that it was up to them to come and show themselves. (Hear, hear.) I am very glad to say that from several hundred letters which I now have in my possession, that hint was taken, and taken to the full enjoyment of those who obeyed it.

I have many happy recollections of the Dominion with which I certainly do not intend to bore you to-day, but there was one from which I gathered a wonderful idea of the progressiveness of this country some eight years ago, when I went as the guest of the premier of British Columbia up to what they call the "New British Columbia." We took the first automobiles that ever went up the old Caribou road, and a mighty good time we had with the horses we met en route. Well, he had been premier, I think, for nine years, but had never visited that part of his wonderful province before, and it was the last great west; and the men there came out in hundreds to meet us, those splendid fellows—miners, trappers, lumbermen and fishermen who were up there to find what they could, away from civilization. They were a splendid crowd, and I never wish to meet better. They may have been a bit rough exteriorly, but their hearts were hearts of gold. Each of the little places we visited was bedecked with flags, and each one was shrieking at the top of its voice that it was the only spot on the map. I remember a little place called Kennell on the upper Fraser, where we had a wonderful meeting with the leading citizens, one of whom took me around—it would take perhaps a minute and a half to get around—but when we got to the starting point he turned and looked at me and said, "Well, my friend, I will have you know we have a real slap-up city here; we have everything but a street-car service and a steam laundry." (Laughter.) The same thing when we got to Fort George. I never will forget Fort George. There were three Fort Georges, each one howling out that the others didn't amount to anything. The first thing we saw was the bank; I read in large letters, "Bank of British North America." Behind that was a little shack with some steps up to it, and there was a young man bending over the most paleontological printing machine. I found he was the printer, editor, manager and everything. He had run out of bourgeois type, and he was printing in italics, (Laughter.) and if ever a leader was worthy of italics, this was. He was having a go at a certain well-known paper in the east of Canada which appeared once a week, and which in his opinion had intimated that there was no such place as Fort George, or if there was it was not worth anything. The leader began, "We Don't Give a Damn for the Seven-Day Opinion of a Half-Boiled Lobster Down East." (Laughter.) "We mean to be a Bull-Dog if We Only Live a Minute." (Laughter.) Well, gentlemen, after all it is that type of spirit which has driven Canada forward. (Hear, hear and loud applause.)

Now it is up to me to tell you, as shortly as I can, what is the object of my visit to the great Dominion. That object is to discuss with my good Canadian newspaper friends some of the outlines for the second Imperial Press Conference which is to be held in Canada in the summer of next year. (Hear, hear and applause.)

I think I was referred to just now as an ancient newspaper man. I have nothing to do with any newspaper. Among other crimes, I am a member of Parliament, and I do all sorts of other things, but I have nothing whatsoever to do with the newspaper world to-day. But I was a newspaper man once, and I suppose, on the lines of the old saying—"Once a newspaper man, always a newspaper man"—I am still allowed a place in that category. I was asked by my good friends of the Home Press and of the Empire Press Union, of which I have the great privilege of being the one honorary member, whether I would act as the unofficial link between themselves and the Dominion, and if I could come over here and discuss with the editors of the Canadian papers any pros and cons in reference to the conference, and carry back home any suggestions which the Canadian editors desired us to pursue—for I need hardly say that we are coming over as the guests of this great Dominion, and naturally we are only too ready to carry out whatever line Canada suggests to us.

Now, the first Imperial Press Conference, which it fell to my good fortune to conceive, was born in this great Dominion of yours, and occurred to me some twelve years ago when I was in this country as the guest of that grand old Canadian, Lord Strathcona. (Applause.) We were dining at the Government House, Winnipeg. I was sitting next to a very delightful individual, whose name I have now forgotten, who was a member of the local legislature, and we were chaffing one another, in the way that Britons will, as to the mutual ignorance of the Home Country and the Dominions as to one another. Well, perhaps he landed on a rather difficult nut, because it has been my good fortune to have traversed the Empire, but he did not know that when he started. After he had had a pretty good turn on me I said, "Well, my friend, now may I ask you a question?" He said, "Certainly, that is only fair." I said, "Tell me what are the states of Australia?" I saw I had him right away. (Laughter.) He did a lot of very rapid thinking, and after a tremendous effort he brought forth, "Victoria"—that was all. On our way home that night I could not help thinking, if that is the type of knowledge entertained by an intelligent citizen, not only here but in the Old Country and all other sections of the Empire, what small thing can one do to diffuse a little more knowledge around the Empire, not only between the Mother Country and the Dominion and *vice versa,* but the Dominions *interse.* Then suddenly occurred to me the idea, why not call together a conference of the great editors of the Empire's leading papers at the heart of the Empire, there to learn what the Old Country has to show them, there to come and teach us many things that we have to learn, and there to meet one another? I discussed this idea the next morning with a very good friend of mine and a very able Canadian editor, John W. Dafoe, the editor of the *Manitoba Free Press,* (Applause.) and again, when I came back to Ottawa, with another very dear old friend who is not with us to-day, Lord Grey, late Governor-General of Canada. (Applause.) They were both most enthusiastic, so much so that when I got back home I invited together a few of our leading newspaper men, to whom I put forth this plan. They were all for it, and said, "We must have a meeting of the British press," which was accordingly called, and which was the first time the whole British press had ever assembled, even in our islands, under one roof. I put before them this scheme, what I believed would result from such a gathering of the men who are molding opinion throughout the Empire. It was unanimously agreed to, and I was harpooned into it as organizer.

Well, it took me two years to get up that conference, for it was an entirely new idea, and it is always difficult to push forward a new idea in the Old Country. But I knew it was worth while, and I knew that I was doing something which would very materially help on anything that might be developed by means of the Imperial congresses of statesmen and politicians; for, after all, the politician is here to-day and gone to-morrow—sometimes gone to-night—(Laughter.) whereas in the ordinary course of events the editor of a great paper holds his position as long as his life and health endure. Accordingly we sent out invitations to every part of the map colored red, asking to London as many visiting editors as we thought we were able to take care of. We received them as our guests from the time they left their native land until we had the privilege of putting them down once again on their own door-step—which hospitable precedent has been followed by the great Dominion of Canada. (Applause.) Those men arrived and were welcomed by the biggest banquet of newspaper men we had ever had in the Old Country. I think, 800 or 900, and they were welcomed by a speech which those who listened to it will never forget, by a man who has often been described as paper men from the other Dominions from beyond the seas. There are many things which can be seen here and in no other part of the Empire; and even on the suggested skeleton programme which I have had put before me—for of course nothing is definitely settled yet—I know that those who come will be absolutely thrilled by what they will have the privilege of seeing, and I equally know that an absolutely royal welcome awaits them. (Hear, hear and applause.) I also sincerely hope that this conference of the Empire's editors in Canada next year, may be frequently followed in Canada and other parts of the Empire by as many conferences as possible of all kinds and sorts of professional men and women who are interested in trade, in which they may get together and exchange ideas. (Hear, hear.) It is the getting together which is so important for Britishers. It is only by these means that we knock off something of the rough edges, and are able to see the angle of the other man. I remember that at this first gathering to which I referred, Lord Roseberry suggested that in his opinion it would be an excellent idea if a British warship were chartered to take British editors from Australia and other parts of the Empire to see something of the Dominions overseas. (Applause.) Well, there are a lot of warships doing nothing, or doing very little at the moment, and no enemy navy, and I do not see why they could not be used to transport trade agents not only from the British Isles to the Dominions overseas, but from other parts of the Commonwealth to see various other parts, as well. (Hear, hear.) Of course, it might be that those that did not quite agree with the Government in power might lie in wait for one or other of those ships and use the modern method of torpedoing them; but they have to take that chance. (Laughter.) Some time ago I saw quite an able paragraph suggesting that the British warships might be used to take commercial travellers from the centre of the Empire to foreign parts, because of the difficulty in getting transportation from the mercantile marine going to the far east, and that idea I believe owes its inception to my very good friend, and a good Ontario boy, Sir Hamar Greenwood, (Applause.) who is at the present moment making more than good in his present job as director of overseas trade in the Old Country. (Applause.) Of course I don't know whether the warships will be used for such purposes, but the suggestion opens a tremendous vista of what may happen in the development of trade among the various sections of the British Empire.

I had a chat with the Governor-General only two days ago at Rideau Hall, and I found great enthusiasm towards this idea of inviting the editors to the colonial conference in Canada, and I have no doubt that this enthusiasm will grow and prove a valuable asset to the Empire. (Applause.)

I shall take away with me from Toronto on this occasion, very pleasant memories, not only of my visit to Rideau Hall, but my visit to Hart House in this city. I do not know how Hart House appeals to you, but it appears to me that your Toronto architect has achieved a veritable triumph. I think I have seen practically all the great universities of the world, both in the old world and the new, and from my experience in those universities I can say that I have seen absolutely nothing in the world like the Hart House. (Applause.) I shall carry in my memory my pleasant visit to Hart House in company with Sir Robert Falconer, and also a pleasant memory of the delightful gathering to-day in this room, and the other gathering which I attended last night here, in which I listened to paeans of the Victory Loan, when this room was crowded with the most enthusiastic audience, I think, I have ever met anywhere in my life. I was told they were all expert salesmen, and they were also double-dyed enthusiasts, and likewise choral singers of the first order. (Laughter.) I learned that Montreal has issued a challenge to Toronto in the Victory Loan. Far be it from me not to wish well to both great cities, but all I can say for Montreal is that they will have to gallop mighty hard before the end of the week; 80 million dollars for Armistice Day is indeed an achievement of which any city might well be proud, and if I had only known ten days ago all these facts I think I should have altered the name of my address to that of "Ontario, Unlimited." (Laughter and applause.) I told you that I had found Toronto a tonic. I have found Torontonians born enthusiasts of a type which the world needs very badly today. It is surely the duty of each one of us throughout the Empire to work himself up to a spirit of enthusiasm to do all he can to make good and follow those who have done such magnificent work in this country, so that when our time comes we may each one feel there is something to hand down to posterity—a happy and contented Empire for which so many of our bravest and best have given their lives in that great war which is past. (Loud applause.)

CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

AN ADDRESS BY F. A. VANDERLIP.

Joint Meeting with the Canadian Club, Toronto, November 17, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: These are great days, gentlemen. History is being made every moment, and surely the Canadian and the Empire Clubs have their full share in the making. Four times within almost as many months we have joined together in order to welcome to Toronto some outstanding world-citizen. First of all you will recall that we met together to welcome a great French soldier, General Pau, and the President of the Canadian Club presided on that occasion. Then we assembled together to pay tribute to our own great Canadian soldier, Sir Arthur Currie, (Applause.) and I had the honor of being in the chair on that occasion. Then on November

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Mr. Vanderlip—financier, statesman, author—has been one of the outstanding figures in American finance for at least the last decade. His numerous books and pamphlets, mainly on economic and political subjects, have exercised a strong influence on American policy during recent years. After his education in the Universities of Illinois and Chicago, he entered journalism, and later became Financial Editor of the *"Chicago Tribune."* From this position he went to Washington as Assistant Treasurer to the Treasury. In 1901 he became connected with the National City Company of New York as one of its presidents, and his success in building up this Company into one of the strongest banking corporations in the United States is well known among financiers. During the War he was Chairman of the War Savings Committee in the United States, and the success of his work in that connection is fully recognized. Mr. Vanderlip's most recent contribution to literature is his book on present day conditions in Europe, which has aroused a great deal of discussion. There is probably no man in the United States better able to speak authoritatively on the problem of International Finance than he.

4th, 3,000 of us met in Massey Hall to receive a message from our great Prince Edward of Wales—(Hear, hear and applause.) an enthusiastic, manly boy, an English gentleman, a real statesman, and our future King. (Applause.) It was a most wonderful address, and by the way, it was no idle statement he made when he said, "I go to the United States next week, not only as an Englishman, not only as a Britisher, but as a Canadian as well." (Applause.) And, gentlemen, when I picked up my paper in New York on Monday last, I saw recorded there the fact that in response to the address of welcome His Royal Highness made use of those words. Your distinguished President, gentlemen of the Canadian Club, presided on that occasion with his usual dignity and ability; (Applause.) and I want here just to say that it has been a real privilege and pleasure to be associated with him in the arranging of the details for these various meetings, and I want now to thank him for his courtesy, consideration and kindness at all times since he became President of your great organization. (Applause.) Someone asks if he did me up Brown. (Laughter.) Well, all I have to say, gentlemen, is that if he did, the process was a very pleasant one, and I hope he will repeat it on many occasions. (Applause.)

And now we meet together to-day once again to welcome—and note the sequence: first of all, a Frenchman; then a Canadian; then an Englishman; and now a distinguished American—(Hear, hear and applause.) a gentleman without a peer in the realm of American finance, and a prince amongst men. (Hear, hear.) I could go on for some time, gentlemen, telling you about his wonderful career as an author, a statesman and a financier. My own members, knowing my weakness, would likely indulge me, but I am afraid to take a chance with the members of the Canadian Club, because, quite rightly, they might say to me, "Well now, Mr. President, we came to hear Mr. Vanderlip, and not to hear you." (Laughter.) And so, without further comment, I will introduce Mr. Vanderlip, and I know that you will extend to him a right royal welcome.

Mr. F. A. Vanderlip was received by the audience rising, cheering, and waving handkerchiefs. He said: Mr. President and Gentlemen, I wish I could make you feel how profoundly grateful I am for such a courteous welcome. You have done me the honor several times of inviting me here. It has seemed to be impossible before for me to come; but if I had known the sincerity of the welcome I was to receive I think I would have come on the first invitation and not have waited until now. (Laughter.)

The subject that I was asked to speak about was "Conditions in the United States." Perhaps I will not hold too closely to that subject. If you were to picture conditions in the United States as you see them, indeed, as a good many people in the United States see them, it would be, on the whole, a very cheerful picture. You would picture us as not having lost much by the war; perhaps as having gained a great deal. Our human loss was great, but in a sense it was trifling compared to the sacrifice that you made and the sacrifice that the Allies made. We came into the war late. We made a great effort. (Hear, hear and applause.) We did make certainly a great industrial contribution, and potentially our men made a great contribution. But on the whole, our sacrifice, measured in human life, has been small. Perhaps you would picture that we had made great financial gains, because we have transformed our position in the world from a debtor nation to a huge creditor nation. You would picture, too, that we had made a transition from war industry to the work of peace time without any serious difficulty; you would see us to-day with full employment of labor—except where it is interrupted by frequent strikes—with the greatest wages ever paid anywhere in the world, I suppose, on the whole; with an increased standard of living that borders on the edge of extravagance, and in some cases gets away over that edge, as you who may be at all familiar with New York have certainly seen illustrated. Well, that is not a very sad picture as it looks on the face; but some things have happened in this year since the close of the war.

Suppose I should say that thirty-five per cent. of our shipping had been sunk since the war, you would think that was a startling statement, and that I was out of my head. In effect that is true. The efficiency of our shipping and all the shipping of the world is only sixty-five per cent. to-day. We might just as well have had thirty-five per cent. of it sunk, so far as the efficiency of the work of carrying sea-borne goods is concerned. Well, what is the matter? Labor. The dissatisfactions of labor have sunk the effectiveness of thirty-five per cent. of the merchant marine of the world, because it takes a month to turn a ship where it used to take a week; because of the delays at ports, the difficulties with labor in the great ports of the world, make shipping only sixty-five per cent. as effective as it was before the war.

What if I should say that forty per cent. of our factories had been destroyed—that we had suffered like Belgium and northern France? You would think that was a startling statement. In effect it is true. The output of our factories is governed by the efficiency of labor. The efficiency of labor, by and large, I think to-day is not over sixty per cent. in the United States; and that amounts to a practical destruction, for the time being, of forty per cent. of our factories.

But what if I should say that we, sharing in your great victory, being victors in this mighty war, now found laid upon us an indemnity—that we had to pay a tax equal to half our national wealth? Well, that would be a curious and a shocking statement, wouldn't it? But, viewed from the standpoint of the individual citizen, the man with fixed income, half of his income has gone to the payment somewhere of an indemnity, let us say, because his income is only half as valuable as it was before the war. That dollar has been clipped and clipped and clipped through some cause until to-day it will purchase only half what it would purchase five years ago. What has made that thing? You have felt it; England, France, everybody feels it—this increase in the cost of things, which is another way for saying decrease in the value of money. I do not know your situation; I do know ours, and I think I can explain in a very few words what happened to our dollar.

First, just after the outbreak of the war we inaugurated a Federal Reserve system—a most admirable financial conception. Had we not had it our financial structures could hardly have withstood, without most severe disarrangement, the strain and the blows of war finance. Now, one of the things that the Federal Reserve system did was to put into a single reservoir the reserves of the country which had heretofore been segregated in the vaults of 26,000 banks. That is an admirable thing, because making more economic use of those reserves we could run with smaller reserves; that is, on our reserve base we could build a higher structure of credit, higher by several billion dollars. All right, that is what we did. Then as the war progressed, we added to the base. There came a flood of gold because our goods were needed far in excess of what others could send us, and for a time the balance was paid in gold, and this gold base was increased by a billion dollars, and so the credit structure rose. Then we came into the war, and late though we were, we came with a rush when we came. (Applause.) We undertook an industrial effort that was only measured by our capacity. We floated bonds in excess of our investment capacity for the time being. Those bonds could only be taken by people going to the banks and borrowing against them; and there came a great inflation of credit. This structure rose and rose. When a man buys a bond and gives to the government buying power, but borrows to do that, and makes no very active effort to economize, to save, to pay off his loan, he has created really a fictitious buying power, although that power is in the hands of the government. That is what we did. We have to-day $6,500,000,000 of bonds either owned by banks or up as collateral with banks. We have re-discounted at the Federal Bank a total of $1,700,000,000 of war paper, and that has raised the structure of credit. And so it has grown and grown; it is inflated, with a corresponding decrease in the value of a dollar, until our dollar has been clipped, first by the Federal

Reserve, then by the gold imports, then by the credits granted to the government, until it is just half what it was. So I say it is not an impossible simile to compare us with a country that has had a great indemnity tax laid on it so far as men with fixed incomes are concerned.

To deal with the situation in the United States, however, one must look outside of the United States. We have come into world affairs in spite of ourselves, reluctantly, a little blindly, not knowing just what to do with our position, not understanding it very clearly. During those years of war we built up enormous exports—exports away beyond our imports—and our present state of industry is dependent upon those exports. Not so very many of us are looking beneath the surface there and seeing what the condition of the great exporting nations is. I made some study of that myself last spring, with results in my own mind that were saddening. I do not know how well you understand the conditions in Europe. Our people six months ago were utterly blind to them; and only now are they beginning to get some little conception of the seriousness of the blow that has been struck there.

The problems of peace, the problems that began to present themselves with the armistice, are more serious, perhaps more difficult of solution, too, than the problems of the war itself. There has come upon Europe a disorganization of trade that has led to a paralysis of industry in many countries. The seriousness of that is very great. We are apt to make in our minds comparison with other wars when we are thinking of what the recovery may be from this war. You will hear people quote conditions following the Napoleonic War, and citing the quick recovery of nations in spite of debts that were greater in proportion than even the vast debts of the present day, and they will argue from that that we should see as quick recovery now. But something has happened in the world since the Napoleonic Wars that makes a very different situation in Europe—the development of the great industrial era of our times. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars there were 175,000,000 people in

Europe supported from the fields of Europe; to-day there are 440,000,000 millions in Europe, with 100,000,000 of them at least who must be supported by the imports of food. That is most particularly true in England; it is true in Germany.

Now, let us look at the German situation just a moment in that respect. The fields of Germany, under the intensive cultivation of pre-war days, the high state of fertilization, produced enough to feed Germany with the exception of about 15,000,000 people. Their fields fed 50,000,000, and there had to be imported food for 15,000,000. Now we have assessed a great indemnity against Germany, but we wonder whether we ought to trade with Germany. Let us see what position she is going to be left in if there is a permanent embargo around her. There are 15,000,000 people who cannot live. Now, the Germans are savages—I will admit that—but we don't surround savages with an embargo and let them starve to death!

But that is only illustrative of the situation in a number of European countries, and more notably in England than in Germany. The cycle of industry in England must go on at about its old-time rate; England must hold her supremacy in the neutral industrial markets of the world, or England starves. Now, that is all there is about it. In the first nine months of this year, English exports fell below her imports to the extent of more than $2,000,000,000. You cannot keep that up. England's supremacy in the industrial markets must be maintained if England is to be maintained. Sir Auckland Geddes said to me, "Unless you can re-establish England's trade our government's problem is to export 5,000,000 Englishmen." We must re-establish English trade. We must re-establish German trade. That is not very acceptable to me, and I guess it is not to you; but can we starve them to death?

Look at the situation in Italy—and I want to tell you to-day that Italy is one of the danger-points of the world —without coal, short of food, unable to move her trains or run her industries, not daring to demobilize her army into idleness, want and riot—Italy is on the edge of a possible disaster, just as Germany is on the edge of a possible revolution, because they are short of food. They have not the raw material with which to work; they are discouraged; they have got this awful indemnity hanging over them; their death-rate has gone up; their birth-rate is half the normal; men are underfed; transportation is paralyzed; industries are idle. We look at the situation of a German manufacturer owing to the rise in prices and the decrease in the value of the mark. Let me cite one example. Before the war a bale of American cotton was worth 25,000 marks in Germany. Now two things have happened; the price of cotton has gone up and the value of the mark has gone down, and to-day we are selling cotton to Germany for 950,000 marks a bale. Now, if you were a German cotton spinner you would take a long breath over that situation—25,000 marks a bale before the war, 950,000 marks a bale to-day. Those are serious things to consider.

I believe that it is a great duty of those of us who have a surplus, to loan—I am not thinking in terms of money, either; I am thinking in terms of goods, of food, of raw material—it is a great duty that we loan to those people those things necessary to start their industries going, to give life again to the industrial cycle, work to men. Europe cannot exist on charity; it is death to civilization unless industry can be started, unless men can be given work; and in some countries like Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy, there is lack of means to obtain the very start, and the raw material to get things going. They need some priming in the pump; you cannot start pumping until they get something to work on; and I think there is the greatest national duty, the greatest obligation, the greatest opportunity imposed upon the United States in this world-situation of affairs, to come forward now with great loans—not to those bankrupt treasuries, but to the industries of Europe—loans that shall take the form of raw materials and foods, of machinery, of rolling stock for the dilapidated transportation systems, and again enable the industrial life there to be resumed. I maintain that the situation in Europe to-day is quite serious. It has made no substantial progress when compared with the situation a year ago, just after the armistice. In that year we loaned Europe, through our government, $3,000,000,000, and maintained this tremendous movement of exports that has made life tolerable. Now, through lack of understanding, through lack of leadership, through lack of organization, we have stopped; we are not even considering the problem as we should consider it in view of how desperate it is. We are going along in our prosperity—we got a little bump in our gold market the other day which interrupted it in the minds and pockets of some people—but on the whole we are absorbed there with our own affairs; we shrink from getting involved in world-affairs that we don't know much about and have had but little training in, and fail to understand, and find a lot of selfishness and jealousy and discord in. But unless we do, unless we see our duties and our opportunities in a clearer light, and act, there may be a great tragedy ahead in Europe. There is a great tragedy. It is going to be a tragic winter in many of those countries, a winter of great suffering, with a lack of fuel, a lack of food, a discouragement that will be profound, and which might lead to social and political revolution; and if it does, the microbes of that disease will cross the Atlantic; they will jump any tariff barrier, and they are sure to find lodgment with us. So, if we were absolutely selfish, if we thought of nothing but our own position, we would do what you have been doing. You have been making some foreign credits; you have been having what seems to me to have been a marvellously successful loan here; and if I might presume, I would wonder just what you are going to do with the proceeds of that loan. (Hear, hear and applause.) You can be extravagant with it; you can be wasteful with it; you can be just generous with it, and hurt the world fearfully. You can grant credits that will really be used in buying products from you, and be a great servant of the world and get a great reward. You will need to guard this $500,000,000 or $600,000,000, I believe, as you never guarded a public trust before. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.)

The labor situation is one thing that bothers us in the United States. As I have said, we are only getting sixty per cent. efficiency, and we are paying very high wages. I could illustrate something about this efficiency. I happen to be connected with large shipbuilding establishments, I could cite an illustration of the building of two ships exactly alike; one was built before the war; the other was recently completed. They were built on the same ways. They were exact duplicates. The first ship took 200,000 hours, and the second ship 400,000 hours of labor to build; and the cost per hour was nearly double on the second ship what it was on the first. We have repeated illustrations of advancing wages having an exact correspondence in decreasing labor. Advance the wages ten per cent., get ten per cent. less product; advance them another ten per cent., another ten per cent. decrease. I know illustrations where there was great pressure for a product, where two shifts were working and three shifts were put on, and we got less results with three shifts than we did with two. I have seen illustrations in shipbuilding, where, after making quite a sweep, discharging of men that worked on a vessel, we drove more rivets with the smaller force than we did before. Well, now, there is a great stake to play for, if in some way we could get satisfaction in the heart of labor so that labor will do its most efficient work.

I wonder who is to blame for this situation. I wonder if the employer who waited to make a raise of wages or to improve working conditions until he was forced to do it, who said, "Let well enough alone, we will make the raise when we have to,"—the employer who did not recognize industry, who put no premium on efficiency, but waited to be forced by union demands, and then did raise the wages,—I wonder if he has not some share of blame? (Hear, hear.)

If you and I were working for wages, and we found that industry, efficiency, loyalty, counted nothing; that we were just in the mass; but if we found that unionism, demands, force, might, accomplished results,—in which direction would our minds turn? Would we naturally be efficient? I don't think so. I think it is a perfectly natural consequence to find that men rely on the thing that accomplishes the result, and if they have not been rewarded for efficient service, but have been rewarded for the application of power, they are going to forget efficiency and apply power; and that is what they are doing.

And then, this war has brought something new to labor. It has brought new aspirations—aspirations for greater manhood, for more voice in the affairs immediately surrounding labor—and I, for one, sympathize with that. (Applause.) I have been a workman; I have stood at a lathe all day and produced the same article over and over and over again; I know something of how trying this rapidity of work is, the same act over and over, all day long, and I don't wonder that men who have become mere cogs in any industry and are considered as commodities, want a better relation to life than that. (Hear, hear.) And I tell you that in giving it to them we will get back for society and for ourselves, for the peace of society, such a reward as the optimist can hardly measure. (Hear, hear.) It is just better basic, fundamental human relations, that is all. It is being brought about in some instances. It is being brought about somewhat in England by the Whitley Committees, by the closer organization where men sit down together, not in times of stress, in the heat of a strike, but every day or every week, employer and employee sitting down and discussing conditions; and there is education in that, and just as much education for employer as for employee. We are doing some of it in the United States, and there are some notably successful illustrations of how improved output and happier conditions in every way may be brought about by this better understanding, thus giving labor a larger voice and clearer comprehension of what the job is all about, and giving employers a more sympathetic understanding of labor's point of view.

Now, I do not believe that there is any formula that will apply to all conditions; in fact I am very positive there is not. In a small factory, with these shop committees, these periodical conferences, this better understanding and better education can be brought about, I am sure. In larger industries there will perhaps have to be some other plan. But it is up to us all to do more thinking on this subject than we have ever done before; to do it with a warmer heart and a more open mind; and it is only on that road, I believe, that we will succeed in raising our ships that have been sunk, in rehabilitating our factories that have been destroyed by inefficiency of labor.

If there was some great economic doctor who had hold of the pulse of civilization and was asked to make a diagnosis, and to prescribe remedies for the great illness that civilization feels, that doctor would to-day find the pulse beat very irregularly, very sluggishly. He would take a temperature that indicated fever—fever that had driven the mind to an almost irrational state. If he could put a band around civilization's arm and measure the blood-pressure he would find it was dangerously high. If a drop of that blood could be put under a microscope there would be microbes there of Bolshevism, microbes that were disorganizing to the whole system of civilization. And then what would that doctor prescribe? Just as in medicine to-day we are coming to understand that drugs are not very curative, I believe such an economic doctor would conclude that there were no nostrums of some new order of society, of Bolshevism, or Socialism, to prescribe for civilization; that would not cure civilization. There might be some prescriptions of legislation, I think there would be. But the trouble is deeper than that, and the trouble is such that the prescription has to be taken by every one of us; and that prescription would amount to something that would almost make a fundamental change in our characters. We have got it in us; it is possible; we have fought the war; we have made the most supreme sacrifices; our young men offered their lives for what? Fair play in the world, that was really what we fought the war about—for fair play in the world.

Now, if that war spirit could only lapse over into the very troubled times of peace; if some great physician could prescribe this remedy—that we should all devote ourselves passionately, as we did in the war, to seeing fair play in the world—how these difficulties would disappear. (Hear, hear and loud applause.) There is no trouble between capital and labor that fair play would not settle. We would have a new world. The world has not been destroyed. It has been horribly injured; and it may be much more horribly injured—this one thing we must keep in our mind—but the road to recovery is right in our own hands; it is not somewhere far off; it is not in the hands of parliament, or of organizing some new social order. We don't want a better social system; we want better men. (Hear, hear and applause.) If we could each take to himself that lesson of fair play, greater industry, greater loyalty to his job, greater efficiency, more economy, greater saving, cutting out extravagance—these are the simple remedies.

Why, in your way here you are complaining about the exchange situation, and that is a small matter with you compared to the terrible troubles that pertain to other countries. One of the questions I was asked this morning by one of the reporters who saw me was, "What can you do to correct the exchange situation?" I answered that it was very simple; it is right in your own hands. You have got a pair of balances here; one side filled with what you export, the other side with what you import. They are out of line. Now, don't find fault with the index pointer up here. They are out of line because you are exporting less than you are importing. What can you do to correct it? Why, it is very simple but very unacceptable, and quite world-old; you can work harder and produce more; and lighten up this side—be less extravagant, and import less. There isn't anything else you can do, or that the world with its European countries can do. For a while, for a few months, they can weight down this side with a credit providing they can get somebody to take the credit. That will bring the balance down somewhat; but that credit has got to be removed ultimately. A nation must produce and send out as much as it consumes and brings in, or it is going to be out of balance; as I said, England is more than $2,000,000,000 out of balance in nine months. To refer again a little more to England's difficulties, her budget this year will be £473,000,000 short—$2,500,000,000 less will come in from taxation than has to be expended. I just made a note or two this morning that struck me as interesting. In those expenditures are £50,000,000 for the bread subsidy—they had to do it; I don't object to that, but let us not shut our eyes to the seriousness of it; £42,500,000 were for out-of-work donations—when I was in England in the spring more than a million people were receiving an out-of-work donation; there will be £104,000,000 for war pensions; and in this fiscal year that began five months after the armistice, in what you might call a year of peace, there will be a deficit in that budget of £473,000,000; and by April first the debt will have reached £8,075,000,000. Why, the service of that debt runs away ahead of the whole cost of government administration prior to the war. I believe there is no other people on earth than those Englishmen, with their great common sense, their bull-dog tenacity, who could pull out of that hole. (Applause.) And I, for one, would like to see the United States help them pull out of that hole, (Hear, hear and applause.) and if there is anything that my voice can do to waken our people to their responsibilities, their obligations and their great opportunities of world-leadership, that word shall be uttered. (Applause.) But we seem blind. It is easy to understand it; we have been a very insular people, a debtor nation; we have looked on foreign trade as meaning just one thing—sell something. We have got to remodel our definition of foreign trade, and buy and buy and buy from abroad. We are now a creditor nation; we must take goods. We have got to reorganize our ideas about the tariff. I am a Republican—black Republican—but the foundations of my belief in a tariff policy have been a good deal shaken lately. We have got a new order, a new situation there, and I think in time we are going to wake up to a comprehension of the seriousness of the European situation and of our own obligations and opportunities. Whether we will wake up in time, whether we can stop the march of this tragedy which is crossing Europe, I do not know; but I believe there never was a people that had laid on them a greater obligation than we have, and as you—because you are in much the same situation—to comprehend this European tragedy, to see what our duties are to civilization, to individually take this prescription of a great, economic doctor—take it to ourselves, not something for parliaments nor something for other organizations, but something for ourselves individually to do; and if we will do that, we can make over the world. (Loud and long continued applause.)

President Brown, of the Canadian Club, said: Mr. President of the Empire Club, my lords and gentlemen, in the United States and Canada these days we are faced with great difficulties,—difficulties political, industrial and social—but who doubts but that by mutual counsel and assistance we will be able to emerge triumphant from the difficulties? (Hear, hear.) Mr. Vanderlip is the symbol and embodiment of that financial strength and resourcefulness of the United States which was of such inestimable advantage to us all during the war. He has been at grips, stripped to the waist, fighting in that great struggle between problems and solutions. He comes to us today fresh from the heat of that battle, and his address, soberly eloquent, thoughtful and suggestive, will be a great source of inspiration and practical benefit to us all. (Applause.) I have pleasure in extending to Mr. Vanderlip our very cordial and very grateful thanks for this admirable and memorable address.

ONTARIO AND ITS RAILWAYS

AN ADDRESS BY E. W. BEATTY, K.C.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, November 20, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: Ask the business and professional men of Toronto why our distinguished guest was elected Chancellor of Queen's University and President of the C.P.R., and I venture to suggest that ninety per cent. of them would say, "Oh, because he is Eddie Beatty." (Hear, hear and laughter.) Evidently he has impressed them so with his dominating, magnetic personality that long ago they were convinced he was destined to occupy such exalted positions. Ask the authorities that be at Queen's why, and they would say, "Because he is a young Canadian with energy, enthusiasm, great constructive ability and vision. (Hear, hear.) Ask the Montrealer, and you will receive the same laconic reply, "Oh, well, he is a Toronto man." (Laughter.) And that reminds me of a conversation I overheard last Tuesday after the great Victory Loan results had been announced. A Toronto man was twitting the Montrealer over the fact that Toronto had subscribed twenty millions more than Montreal. The Montrealer shot back at him, "Well, you haven't got the C.P.R. in Toronto, that can contribute twenty millions to that loan." "No," said the Toronto man, "but you would not have contributed the twenty millions if you hadn't had a Toronto man at the head of your organization." (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen we are all proud of the C.P.R.—the greatest organization of its kind in the world. (Hear, hear.) Outside of the army and navy themselves, it did more in the war than

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"Eddie" Beatty, as he is familiarly spoken of by his Toronto friends, is an old Toronto boy. He is the Chancellor of Queen's University and the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

certainly any other privately-owned organization. (Hear, hear.) Just a moment—nearly 100,000 employees; 18,000 miles trackage; 100,000 miles of telegraph system—all placed at the disposal of the allies at the commencement of the war. Carried two million troops during the war; carried four million tons of cargo; the C.P.R. Angus shops the first factory in Canada to make shells for the Allies. Lent Arthur Harris—now Sir Arthur Harris—and 36 experts to look after shipping, and under their direction 12,239,763 tons, excluding horses, were cleared at Canadian ports. (Hear, hear and applause.) Sent 10,187 men to the front; 1,000, unfortunately, never to return. Have given employment to 9,159 returned soldiers. (Applause.) Since the war started the C.P.R. has loaned and guaranteed to Allied nations $100,000,000, probably the largest contribution made by any industrial enterprise in the British Empire. (Applause.) No wonder we are proud of the C.P.R., and justifiably so, too, I think, and of the fact that the executive head of that great industrial organization is a young Canadian, born and bred in the city of Toronto, (Applause.) referred to affectionately by thousands of our citizens as "Eddie" Beatty; referred to in terms of respect and admiration and loyalty by Canadians from one end of this country to the other. It is unnecessary for me to introduce Edward Wentworth Beatty, King's Counsellor, Queen's Chancellor, C.P.R. President, staunch Britisher, outstanding Canadian, Toronto citizen, to deliver the first speech he has delivered in Toronto since his elevation.

Mr. Beatty was received with loud applause, and cheers, the audience rising. He said: I find it very difficult to express my deep appreciation of the kindness and courtesy of the invitation of your President that I should attend and speak at this luncheon.

It is peculiarly gratifying in that this is the first time I have been in Toronto, except on the business of the company, since I assumed the duties of my present office, and that the invitation comes from the executive of a Club of such outstanding importance, formed in the city in which I formerly lived, and during fourteen years enjoyed what most of us regard as the most pleasant years of our lives.

It is over eighteen years since I left Toronto to live in Montreal, and during those eighteen years, particularly during the lifetime of my late father and mother, I do not think that any one month passed without a visit to your city, of a day or two days. Many of my friends are here, the old associations have not entirely disappeared, and my affection for my former home city remains unimpaired. These circumstances alone would afford ample justification for a feeling of pride in the invitation of your executive, but there is another reason why I have embraced, with such pleasure, the opportunity which has been afforded me, and that is the large and common interest which the company I have the honor to represent has with the city of Toronto and with the province of Ontario.

The Canadian Pacific operates within the limits of your province 3,400 miles of railway, being I think at present the largest mileage under any single system within the province. The possession of this extensive mileage gives, in itself, a reason why the company's interests and those of the development of the province are closely co-related and inter-dependent. That interest is shared by the other systems which are to be consolidated in one unified operating organization, the mileage of the Grand Trunk in Ontario being 3,035 and of the National Railways 1,852.

Ontario offers perhaps the greatest variety of railway traffic possibilities of any of the Canadian provinces. You will appreciate that this is so when you recall the extent of the productions of the province which contribute to the support of the railway systems operating within it. In manufactured products it, of course, leads the whole of Canada; in agricultural products it is prolific, and the products of the forests and mines are extraordinarily extensive.

In manufactured products alone the province produced over *thirteen hundred million tons* in 1917, or over 51% of the aggregate production of Canada. Of the products of the mine, Ontario produced ores to the value of eighty-eight million dollars, or 46% of the total production of Canada, while the value of the agricultural production was one billion, one hundred and forty-four million dollars, or about 22% of the whole production of Canada. In pulpwood Ontario produced 33% of the total production of Canada, and in paper 43%, while in dairy products it produced in value and in tonnage in excess of 62% of the whole Canadian production. In live stock production the figures are equally impressive, being 26% of horses, 34% of milch cows and 25% of sheep.

That is the past, and the future holds still more in the way of traffic and railway possibilities.

The total railway mileage in Ontario is slightly in excess of 11,000, or a little less than that of the State of Pennsylvania, while its area is five times as great. Ontario is likewise over five times as large as Ohio, and its railway mileage only 1,900 miles greater. With the increasing population and commercial expansion more mileage must be constructed and existing facilities increased. The Canadian Pacific has not reached the limit of its development within the province of Ontario, nor has any other railway company, if the future possibilities are as we have every ground for believing them to be.

The National Railway System will, in due course, develop into one of the largest single organizations in the world. It will possess—when the consolidations now in contemplation are completed—a system aggregating over nineteen thousand miles in Canada and two thousand odd miles in the United States, while lines embraced in the Canadian Pacific System in the United States and Canada amount to more than nineteen thousand four hundred miles. Whatever divergence there may be in the views as to the advisability of the policies which have led to the acquisition of this extensive mileage and its operation under the aegis of government, there can be but one view as to the desirability of its success. I can, I think, say with perfect candor and honesty that no one desires its success more than I, and this is a hope which I think can fairly be re-echoed by anyone who desires the burdens of this country to be as light as possible, and the freight and passenger rates as low as possible.

In addition to the federally incorporated companies, you have in Ontario local projects which are designed to accelerate development and, while they are not yet in being, you may be fairly well assured that if carried out to a successful conclusion, none of the existing transcontinental railway systems can help but be benefited by them. It is true that in local competition existing business may be more or less divided, but there will be new business attracted and developed because of them, and the advantage to the transcontinental systems secured from the haulage of additional tonnage over long distances will much more than offset any diminution of local earnings through the introduction of a new competitor.

I make no comment on the advisability or inadvisability of proceeding with those projects now. I may conceivably have views on the economic expediency of them which do not conform with the views of others, but my great desire would be that, if carried out, they should be successful, because nothing—all suggestions to the contrary notwithstanding—is more discouraging than financially embarrassed competitors.

The fact that competition is carried on with prosperity to all those engaged in it is the surest sign that general business conditions are healthy, whereas the failure of any large enterprise, especially one operated by the government, must of necessity mean heavier taxation on corporations and individuals to meet annual deficits. The burdens of the country are heavy as it is, and no one, no matter in what system of operation of public utilities he believes, can possibly welcome the advent of unsuccessful enterprises.

I mention this because it has seemed to me that the impression is sometimes current in parts of the province that the activities of the Canadian Pacific are more widespread than is the case, and that opposition has been shown when not the faintest semblance of any has been indicated through any act of the company itself.

I can imagine no issue of a transportation character being raised in Canada in which the attitude and position of the Canadian Pacific cannot be candidly and frankly stated. The company's first and principal interest must always be its ability to perform efficient transportation service, and its own resultant transportation prosperity. While the political future of Canada is a matter which concerns all companies and individuals, the Canadian Pacific's activities are so unimportant a factor that I am almost ashamed to mention them when so much which is flatteringly untrue has been said about them.

In fact when you appreciate that in the Canadian Pacific Railway alone, quite apart from its subsidiary enterprises, a sum in excess of $827,000,000 in cash has already been invested, of which more than $758,000,000 has been contributed directly or indirectly by the share and security holders, you will realize the magnitude of the company's stake in the prosperity of Canada and every province in Canada. I can imagine no corporation of its size, with its numerous ramifications more aloof from political activities than the Canadian Pacific. Its business and its interests it is the duty of its directors and officers to jealously guard and actively further, and in every commercial and economic issue the company is to some extent affected. Political machinations and intrigue, I am glad to say it is free from, because its directors and officers appreciate that the measure of support which is given to it will be that which it gains through the character of the service it renders and the honesty and the integrity of the officers to whom its interests are confided.

There is, as you know, a railway situation existing in Canada, and to a greater degree in the United States, which is without parallel in the history of either country. It would take too long for me to trace for you some of the history which has led up to the present condition, but it is sufficient for me to say that in the evolution of the United States railways, the railways themselves were not free from blame and in fact were initially responsible for the public attitude towards them, which led to their failing to receive support when public and judicial support was sadly needed. This attitude had resulted in the United States in a system of restrictive and too inelastic regulation, absolutely cramping in its effect upon the development of the companies and subversive of the interests of the public. The failure of the United States railways in 1917, and what we now know to have been their physical and financial breakdown, was a breakdown under the too rigid system of regulation to which during prior years they had been subject. In the conduct of these railway operations we are, as others, confronted with an extraordinary high cost ratio due to high wages and costs of material of every description.

To what extent the question of increased remuneration to railway employees in Canada is important is indicated most vividly by the enormous total of the wage increases granted during 1918 and 1919. The amount of those increases, which aggregated the enormous sum of $77,000,000 exceeds the interest on the whole war debt of Canada, exclusive of course of the loan just completed. In other words, even though the war expenses, due to the emergency of the situation were extraordinarily heavy and extended over a long period, the interest on this debt to be paid by the Canadian people does not equal the increases granted in a single year to the employees in one branch of commercial activity, and additional requests are being made. It is axiomatic that these increases in operating expenses must be paid, and they can only be met in one way, namely, by increasing the rates to the shipping public, unless the natural increase in traffic is such as to equal the increased operating costs.

Unfortunately for the railways of Canada the rate increases granted last year fell far short of equalling the increases in wages granted under what is known as the "McAdoo Award" and amendments. The increases in revenues due to increases in rates amounted approximately to $43,000,000 which means that $34,000,000 was spent in increased operating costs due to increases in wages alone, which the railways have not been able to get back.

If additional wage increases are granted in the United States, then by reason of the parity of conditions which exists there as compared with Canada, similar increases will follow here, and, if to meet those increases, rates are again increased in the United States, rates must again be increased in Canada. It must be obvious to you that this vicious circle with the pyramiding of expenses and increasing costs to the ultimate consumer (the latter in many cases out of proportion to those directly resulting from the increases in wages and rates) must stop. Otherwise the burden will become too great for any community to bear and prosper. The basis for all applications for wage increases has been the increased cost of living, and, while these increases have been great, the actual increases in the wages is, generally speaking, greater than the increases in the essential and staple commodities. The reason why the wage increases, even to the extent granted, do not place the recipients in a more favorable position is that the increased cost of necessities has been accompanied by a higher standard of living, and these extra and new expenses which are the voluntary act of the individual and his family have increased his general living expenses to such an extent that the increased wages have not offered sufficient compensation.

This is not to be wondered at, because perhaps one of the last things any individual learns is how to spend money properly, once he reaches the point where there is a margin which can be spent as and when and in what way he wills. It is easy enough to be economical and sane in expenditures when one has no considerable monies to disburse beyond what he requires for necessary expenses of living. But while this may be all true and can only be corrected by education, there is an inflated cost of all staple commodities in Canada and the United States to-day which is not warranted.

The history of the last few weeks in Great Britain and the United States is indicative of what can be done when it becomes apparent that the sentiment of the people as a whole demands action and expects remedies. I am of the conviction that once the results to the community of these increasingly high costs are brought home to those who produce and distribute, backed by the weight of accurate publicity, much will be accomplished in reducing or at least checking the increasing cost of living, which is rapidly getting beyond the point of endurance to the man of fixed income or moderate means.

It has been suggested by able financiers and others that tinkering with these questions is futile, and that the solution depends upon, and should be left to the operation of, inexorable laws of supply and demand. No doubt under normal conditions we could afford to rely upon the corrective influence of these almost immutable economic laws, but the world is sadly out of balance, and the demand now for necessities, particularly foodstuffs, is beyond the supply, and the prices have been forced higher than the purchaser can afford to pay.

As this is a purely artificial condition due to five years of war, it requires artificial means to correct. In other words, with the demand so much greater than the supply unreasonable costs cannot be exacted if the world is to pay for what it buys.

The necessity for the moment, of course, is more production, which means more work and greater thrift. It means that the individual must produce in order that the supply may be increased, and he must save in order to bear safely his individual burdens.

Never, too, perhaps was the need of individual efficiency more apparent than it is to-day. Efficiency in itself is one means of increasing production and lowering costs. Inefficiency is responsible for much waste, and how great it is and how lamentable its results, can be indicated in the case of any large corporation.

I am familiar with the figures of my own company and therefore I may be pardoned for using them as an example. The pay-roll of the Canadian Pacific aggregates seven million five hundred thousand dollars a month, or roughly ninety million dollars a year, and inefficiency of as little as 10% means a loss in labor production of nine million dollars per annum. One hundred per cent. efficiency is a high mark to aim at, and 10% under par would be considered a high average, but yet in the case of one company alone what I think would be considered much better than an average showing would mean in the result, a wastage of effort valued at nine million dollars.

When you consider these facts it is not to be wondered at that the paramount consideration in all organizations to-day is the obtaining of this efficiency the lack of which is so costly. It cannot be obtained through theories, or fancy experiments in different methods of organization. To my mind it is only capable of accomplishment in one way, namely, through the everlasting struggle for results, because with them comes reward. With this knowledge and a high sense of duty coupled with the maximum of effort and eternal vigilance efficiency is secured.

In concluding these remarks, which are intended to be only suggestive, I cannot refrain from mentioning the duty which your transportation companies, whether government owned and operated or privately owned and operated, owe to the people of this country. I say "owe" because I know of no individual agency which can contribute to or mar prosperity to a greater extent than these huge transcontinental or semi-transcontinental systems.

The time was when your railway superintendent was a man of rough exterior, crude methods, and indifferent not only to the whims but the rights of the public. Public sentiment and the necessities of the situation have changed all that and now one essential ingredient in traffic operation or executive railway activities is the appreciation of the exacting nature of the service which the public demands, and the everlasting ambition to inspire confidence in the service given for the business rewards that follow from its successful accomplishment.

Intelligent and serious discussion of all phases of transportation activity in connection with Canada's development are essential. Support of the railways is necessary if they are to be able to do their full part in Canada's trade expansion, because no other single agency contributes to the same extent to and reflects the general commercial prosperity of the country.

In the course of these remarks I have mentioned at times matters which were peculiarly within my knowledge concerning the Canadian Pacific. I did so intentionally, knowing that you would not disassociate me from the company I represent. If you think the references have been somewhat more frequent than is necessary, I would ask you to remember that there were many things I might have said, which I did not say.

HON. WALLACE NESBITT expressed the thanks of the Club to President Beatty.

A UNITED CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY LEON MERCIER GOUIN.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, November 27, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: It has been my privilege and pleasure to visit the province of Quebec every year for the last twenty years. I have been in every city and town in that province, therefore I think I know something about it, and its unlimited mineral resources, its fisheries, its timber, pulp and asbestos, its wonderful system of public highways, its fine technical schools, and its agricultural colleges. I know something about the people. I have dined with them and wined with them; (Laughter.) I have eaten with and slept with them; (Laughter.) I have argued with them, and I have almost fought with them; but, gentlemen, I have also partaken of their delightful hospitality. (Hear, hear.) I know of their refinement, their culture, their scholarship, and the eloquence of their public speakers in both languages. (Hear, hear.) I also know of their intense loyalty to Canada—and by the way, when a Frenchman speaks of home, don't forget that he means Canada, because his people have lived here four or five hundred years, whereas most of the people in Canada, when they refer to home, speak of England, Scotland or Ireland. I know of their loyalty to their church, and I admire them for it. I know of their claim

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Mr. Gouin as the eldest son of the Premier of the Province of Quebec and the grandson of the late Premier Mercier, understands the French Canadian side of Canada's problem very thoroughly. His education at Loyola College, Montreal, where he took his Bachelor's Degree in 1911, and at Oxford University, combined with his work as a lawyer in Montreal, gave him an especially broad, sympathetic outlook. He has devoted special attention to the study of labor legislation and history.

that they saved Canada for the British Empire, and of course their claim is historically correct. (Hear, hear.) I know that the public men of that province are firmly convinced that Canada cannot become the great country she is destined to become unless these two provinces work together with the other provinces in this great Dominion. (Hear, hear and applause.) Ontario cannot make Canada great without the assistance of Quebec, and Quebec cannot make Canada great without the assistance of Ontario. The older politicians of Canada cannot get together and solve the problems of Canada because they hold grievances before their eyes; but the younger men can get their feet under the table without those grievances, and deal successfully with the great problems that will affect Canada for the next few years. For all these reasons it is a very real privilege and pleasure for me, on your behalf as well as my own, to welcome our brilliant young fellow-countryman, Mr. Leon Mercier Gouin, a worthy son of a worthy sire. (Applause.)

Mr. Gouin was received with loud applause, the audience rising and cheering. He said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I thank you most heartily for your cordial welcome, and I feel very much that I do not deserve the token of esteem I have just received from you; but just the same I accept it thankfully, because I understand it means that you people from the province of Ontario and we people from the province of Quebec wish really, truly and heartily to realize, once for all, the unity of Canada. (Loud applause.) To-day I come to you most unofficially, because I have no official character whatever. I am only one of the young men of the French-Canadian race. I am only a young Canadian coming from the province of Quebec to discuss, like a friend, with friends from the province of Ontario, problems of vital importance not only for Canada but for the Empire as well. (Applause.) I will do my best to cause you to forget how young, how childish, I look, and I am sure you will forgive me, because, after all, youth is not a very great sin.

As the subject of this very short and very plain talk I have chosen a very short and very plain title—A United Canada—because your own motto, the motto of the Empire Club, is, I think, "Canada and a United Empire." And now, whether our goal is a policy of local autonomy here, or whether it is a stronger central power in London, whether or not after all we advocate Imperial federation, we must every one of us realize that we have, in common with the other component parts of this world-wide Empire, not only sentimental bonds and political ties but also identical economic interests and a common ideal of democracy, of freedom, and of religious toleration. (Hear, hear and applause.)

A Frenchman with an Irish name, Max O'Rell, called the British Empire and our Dominions, "The firm of John Bull and Company." In the eyes of this Parisian humorist, each one of our dominions was, so to speak, a branch of the main office in London. Now, whether we care exclusively for the main office and turn our eyes only to Downing Street, or whether we devote the best of our energies to our country individually, after all we are all co-operating towards the same end, because as Canadians we can work for the Empire only in and through Canada, and also as Canadians when we work for Canada we work at the same time for the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

The British Empire is indeed a free association of free nations bound together not by military despotism, but of our own accord, and by strengthening and developing this part of the British world, this Canadian branch of John Bull and Company, we are contributing to advance our common ideals and our common interest. I referred a minute ago, gentlemen, to your motto—"Canada and a United Empire"—and when you chose it you had, of course, the right to expect Canada in the very near future to enjoy internal harmony as well as external unity. But in my opinion—and I wish to be frank—and in your opinion too, I am sure we are still very far indeed from national unity, and from inter-racial harmony. Laurier deplored our feuds—race against race, creed against creed. He knew that we lost, in those bickerings, the best of our energies, the best strength and activity of our young people. The great old man is dead, and I think I may say, here was a Cæsar; whence comes such another? —and from Laurier's teaching, whatever may be your political allegiance, we have learned, every one of us in Quebec, and you also in Ontario, that as Canadians we must all have one ambition, namely, to contribute effectively, truly and heartily to a closer union between our two races, and, as I said a second ago, to realize our Canadian unity. (Applause.) I think this is our first duty as Canadians, and also as British citizens. To whatever party we belong, to whatever creed, race or class, we must with all our hearts and all our soul try to make out of this gigantic dominion, out of these nine splendid provinces, a really united Canada. This is essential not only to this country but also to our whole Imperial community. Patriotism, after all, as well as charity, begins at home; and indeed we need very badly throughout Canada a campaign of patriotic propaganada. (Loud applause.)

Read our Canadian newspapers—your papers from Toronto, ours from Montreal and Quebec—and you will see how divided we are, how bitter still are our racial controversies, our class and clan antagonisms. Through organizations such as your Club, Mr. Chairman, such as the Navy League and other associations, we must undertake at once in the schools, in the press, on the platform, everywhere, in all groups, literary or popular, in all classes and races, we must undertake everywhere and continually to create and to develop a true and effective patriotism. (Applause.) We are divided because our aspirations have not been co-ordinated; because we have lacked national pride; and it is a virtue more necessary than any other for young people like ours. Moreover, our patriotism must be broad enough to include every one of us, to allow everyone of us to remain true to the ideal of his particular race and faith and at the same time preserve undauntedly this blessed land of ours, our beloved federation. (Applause.) But one of my own fellow-countrymen from Quebec might ask, "Can we place Canada above all and yet be true to our ancestral traditions?" Yes, we can be good Canadians though we speak two languages, though we pray to God in a different manner. Take the example of Switzerland, which is, after all, the mother and the prototype of all existing federations; it took many centuries to make out of its various cantons just one country, to mold them into one indivisible whole. The Swiss people have succeeded in this mighty task because they have respected the rights of their different races, because they have shown for their various creeds a truly Christian toleration. Take the example of Belgium, where the Germans have tried in vain to exploit the Flemish feelings against the Walloons. Take the example of South Africa. Take the world, and we see that toleration and fair play is the only solid basis for the strength and prosperity of nations, and that that is its only guarantee.

And now let us apply very frankly this lesson to ourselves. Owing to very unhappy misunderstanding, many Canadians have come to look upon the others either with scorn or with hatred; and of course we have in Quebec our own fools—and thank God, they are a rare species. (Laughter.) I hope I offend nobody, but at the same time I believe that in this very province of Ontario there are well-meaning citizens who are led astray by their ardent but somewhat intolerant patriotism. I believe a truly Canadian patriotism is a possible thing for both of us, (Hear, hear.) and I believe that the best thing would be that we each take good care of our fields, and that you endeavor to broaden the ideals of some of your fellow citizens. Every man in Ontario and in Quebec ought to understand that our country is large enough to harbor our different creeds and our different races. Nobody must try by strength or by violence to assimilate us. We will resist assimilation as stubbornly as we did in the past. All French-Canadians are ready to learn English and speak it much better than I do, but what we don't want is to be told that our French language is only a patois, and that it is not to be allowed to be learned adequately in our schools—our mother-tongue. But on all those controversies I will not dwell any longer, because I came here, after all, as a messenger of peace.

Writers from your own province have discussed these questions. They have used very plain words indeed, words which I could not use, because you can be told by people of your own language things which it would have been bad for us to tell you, because we would very likely have used useless violence. Each one in his turn—Mr. Moore, Mr. Hawkes and Mr. Morley, has treated these burning topics. Some of those books are awfully snappy, but, snappy or not, I must confess that for my part I believe they have contributed more than anything else to persuade every man in Quebec that it is possible to "bridge the chasm"; that the "clash" between our two nationalities can be prevented and ended by mutual good-will and mutual respect. (Hear, hear and loud applause.)

We have become conscious of our birthright, and we want our national unity to be real and living, not to be only a constitutional unity; or, to use the words of a very great man, Robert Baldwin, not to be a united existence only in statutes, existing only on parchment. I do believe a truly Canadian patriotism to be a possible thing, and I say it is a most indispensable necessity not only for Canada but also for the whole Empire.

Gentlemen, what prevents us from living not only as good neighbors, but also as friends and partners? There are, above all, a good many errors about Canadian patriotism and its real meaning. Many people think, for instance, that a Canadian of French origin must sacrifice his race and his faith in order to serve our Dominion; in other words, we could not serve those two masters at the same time—our province and our confederation—and our racial instincts, as I would call them, would be incompatible with our larger patriotism, with the loyalty which we owe to our federal state. I believe this error to be a source of many evils, to be the very spring of our disunions. A man can be at the same time a good Scotchman and a good Britisher; a man can also be at the same time a good Canadian and a good Irishman or a good French-Canadian. (Hear, hear and applause.)

I do not come here to exploit, in any way, political capital, for I always stood aside from any political controversy; yet I think I might cite as an illustrious instance of a man who was true and loyal both to Canada and to his native province the great statesman who honored me with his friendship—Sir Wilfrid Laurier. (Applause.) Branded as a traitor to his race and to his creed in Quebec; branded as French and as a Roman Catholic elsewhere; Laurier, once he was dead, received from every one of us the tribute due to his great soul and to his ardent patriotism. In the same way I can cite the name of a man of whom you are all proud—Robert Baldwin. Baldwin's name is venerated in Quebec as a good friend to Baptiste, as a good patriot, and his name will never perish among us. Just a second ago I used the word patriotism and the word patriot. Patriotism is indeed a sacred thing, a thing as sacred as religion, but a thing most difficult to define exactly, and most difficult to practise. If I take my small English dictionary I see that patriotism is the love of one's country, and I see that a patriot is one who loves his country. The word "patriotism," as the Latin etymology shows, is precisely the love of the land of our fathers—terra patria, our own fatherland. Thus patriotism is, so to speak, an instinct which God has put in our hearts, which we inherit with the first feeling we receive when we are born. But besides that, patriotism must be, so to speak, intellectual, rational; it must be more than instinctive; it must be more than blind impulse; it must be the mature and enlightened conviction, not merely a blending of prejudice and bigotry. Patriotism is the love of one's country, and indeed Canada is the country of every one of us; Canada is our own fatherland; and though we come from different motherlands, though we are stocks of different extraction, just the same we were born in this Canadian land or we came to it because we wished to make our home here. As such, we are Canadians, whether native-born or not, and as such we owe to Canada our love and our loyalty. (Hear, hear.)

As the chairman told us at the beginning of this meeting, this land for over three hundred years has been the only home of my own people, of the French-Canadian;

and as to yourselves, people of Ontario, most of you issued from the Loyalists, and this beautiful province has been yours for over two centuries. It is yours by right of conquest. Other Canadians have come from the United Kingdom afterwards, from the United States, from different countries of Europe; but as all those immigrants have chosen Canada as their elected home we may reasonably expect every one of us to adopt our land, to love her as much as we do ourselves, and with the same undaunted love. (Applause.) We must all work for a United Canada. But how can we realize such a union? We can realize such a union by a better understanding between you and us, by toleration, and by mutual respect. Our land has wonderful resources; our constitution is the joint work of Macdonald and Cartier; it is splendidly adapted from the English constitution. We have everything in hand to progress nationally. We need only to bring our two races together to develop Canadian patriotism. We can live in harmony; we can develop our national life harmoniously and enjoy the blessings of our British parliamentary institutions; we can be not only good neighbors but also cordial friends if we only meet one another.

I am very young indeed, and very inexperienced. Your generous welcome is a great lesson for me. It proves to me once more that the supposed gap between us is, after all, almost only imaginary. (Hear, hear and applause.) By inviting us to come to you, by welcoming us in the charming way you have welcomed me, you persuade us that the only means to realize a united Canada is precisely to create closer relations between Ontario and Quebec. (Hear, hear.) Come to us more frequently. Let us come to you in the way you invited me, and sitting together at the same table, discussing together like friends our Imperial and National problems, we will see that, after all, the essentials of our patriotism are similar, and instead of laying stress only upon our differences, instead of exaggerating, so to speak, our variances and accentuating them, we will find a basis of common understanding. With good-will it will be easy to find it, for there is peace upon this earth for men of good-will, and there is peace and harmony in Canada for Canadians of good-will. (Hear, hear and applause.)

And now, gentlemen, to draw a practical lesson from my very short address, I wish to make a few suggestions which would enable the Ontarians and Quebecers to become better acquainted with one another. Of course we cannot expect the great mass of our two races to visit one another's provinces. Only individuals can afford such a pleasing luxury. But the press will afford us an excellent means of intercourse by devoting to the study of our national problems more space, and especially if your newspapers and your magazines invite contributions from our French-speaking writers, and if we do the same for you, I think our problems should be examined much more impartially and from a much more national point of view. Besides the press, I see also the universities. To create patriotism there is no better chosen centre than the university. The Right Hon. Mr. Fisher, Chairman of the Board of Education in England, whom I had the honor to have as my tutor in Oxford, has a maxim that intellectual life flows down from the universities upon the people. And so, here we can start our campaign of patriotic education in the following way—by the university and by the school. Let our French-speaking students come to Toronto and to Kingston (Applause); let them learn here the English language, and also our Canadian ideal; let them become acquainted with you, and also with your aspirations; and in the same way, let your college men come to Montreal and to Quebec—they will be welcome indeed if they wish to come. (Applause.) Take, as a concrete example, the Rhodes' scholarships, which are given to Laval every three years; they are very attractive; young Montreal scholars scramble, so to speak, in order to get the advantage of spending three years in Oxford. But to send one Canadian to England every three years, while excellent, is not quite enough, I think. (Laughter and applause.) I appeal to everyone of you English-speaking Canadians, I urge you for the advantage of Canada and also of our united commonwealth and the Empire, to allow the youth of my race to have the privilege to become acquainted with you, as I had myself that privilege and that honor. If scholarships were founded in Quebec allowing, let us say, ten French-Canadians to come and study in Ontario either letters or sciences, we would enjoy immediately immense advantages; and in the same way if your own people would come to our colleges in Quebec to become acquainted with French literature—and also with our French-Canadian literature, which indeed exists—then we would easily find the means of a real, effective and powerful *bonne entente,* (Hear, hear and applause.) and as we could have an exchange of students, so also we ought to have an exchange of professors. (Hear, hear.) There exists an Imperial organization for that purpose; professors are sent from the United Kingdom to the colonies, and professors are invited to go from one colony to the other. In the same way we ought to have what I would call an inter-provincial exchange of professors. We have, after all, some distinguished men; you have some eminent authorities in various sciences. Why should not our men come to Ontario, and in the same way why should not your professors come to Montreal and to Quebec? For instance, I have been personally invited to give a lecture in Kingston, and I am delighted to accept such an invitation. In the same way Mr. Crainceau, Mr. Dessault, and Mr. Perrault, and all other professors of Laval University and its affiliated institutions, would be delighted to come here and address your college men on any subject within their special studies, and thus you would have from the province of Quebec first-hand information. Thus also we would receive from you first-hand information about the province of Ontario and about its economic situation, its social questions, its labor market, and thus we would easily obtain the formation of a truly Canadian patriotism, of a truly Canadian ideal. Thus we would succeed in securing that everybody would look at things from the Canadian point of view. (Hear, hear and applause.)

And now I thank you once more for your hospitality, and I wish you to understand that throughout Quebec there exists Canadian patriotism; that, after the lessons we have learned from Laurier, we believe our country is not only our province, but that our country extends from one ocean to the other; that you have sacred rights to your language and to your religion; that we do not wish in any way to violate such rights either in our province or anywhere else; that we do not wish to attempt any course whatever to force "Frenchification," as I think it is called; that on the contrary we respect the right of your Canadian nationality; that all we want is to be allowed to learn our two languages, to learn English and to learn French, and that what we want is to practise our faith, the faith of our forefathers, of those people who came from France—you know under what condition, of those people who, after all, explored this country which is yours, of those people who wrote the beginning of our Canadian epics. In the lessons which we find in our history, we see a grand common understanding which it is easy to find, but which is impossible, if, instead of working towards peace and harmony, we try to find between ourselves differences, and to create imaginary grievances.

Gentlemen, let us work harmoniously, let us work patriotically, for our Canadian country, and thus let us work for our whole community of free commonwealths within the British Empire. Let us use the patriotism of the Canadians of French origin by respecting their rights, and by persuading them that we have the self-same love for Canada, that blessed land of ours. I thank you. (Loud and long continued applause.)

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: I shall ask Mr. John M. Godfrey, who was largely responsible for the *bonne entente* movement, that did so much good here two years ago, to present the thanks of our Club to our distinguished guest.

MR. JOHN M. GODFREY: It was a little less than two years ago that many of us had the privilege of hearing in this room, and from exactly the same place, another eloquent message of good-will from the province of

Quebec. The splendid oration of to-day convinces me that eloquence, like red hair, seems to run in some families, (Laughter.) as the former speech was delivered by the distinguished father, and to-day's address was delivered by what will be the no-less-distinguished son. Both of these addresses were delivered in languages which are not the maternal languages of the speakers. I often wonder, when listening to my friends from Quebec, really what they must be able to do when speaking in French. (Laughter and applause.) My experience with the *bonne entente* activities convinced me of the very sincere and honest desire by the vast majority of the people of Ontario to live in good harmony, good understanding and co-operation with their fellow French-speaking citizens. (Applause.) The reason for this deep-seated feeling I believe to be that this province, after all, is a British province, influenced by the British ideal which has always recognized, in the building up of this great Empire, the national aspirations and religious rights and race consciousness of the very people who make up this country. (Applause.) It is true that we have an infinitesimal number who have gotten from across the line a little of that melting-pot idea, and would like to melt these people down; but we do not want that, and it cannot be done, as the speaker of to-day has said. We do want, however, to work together with our splendid French-Canadian fellow-citizens to build up a united Canada. I am convinced that Mr. Gouin's message to-day, so admirably delivered, will do much to help to cement the good understanding which now exists between these two great races of Canada. (Hear, hear and applause.)

EDUCATION AND COMMERCE

AN ADDRESS BY LORD LEVERHULME.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, December 4, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: Before the war we frequently heard the old land referred to as "Sleepy old England," as "Decadent England," and the young men referred to as "Muddled Oafs," and "Flannelled Fools." But to-day the whole world recognizes that it was those "muddled oafs and flannelled fools" who composed the gallant little army of so-called "contemptibles" that stopped the mad onrush of the German hordes when they first attempted to go through Belgium, (Applause.) and that it was sleepy old England who, in the first years of the war, financed the allies so that they were able to get the vast machine of war under way that led to ultimate victory, and that it was the men, women and children of decadent

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Lord Leverhulme's activities are altogether too far-reaching to attempt to even touch all the important sides of his work. In business he is a soap manufacturer, and the largest employer of labor in England. His profession if it might be so termed can probably be best expressed as far-reaching, sane social reform. Port Sunlight the "home town" of the Lever soap business, is on the banks of the Mersey near Liverpool. It covers 462 acres, of which 223 acres are devoted to the village, with its model conditions of housing and public services. The economic principle upon which he works is "sweat the machine and not the man." On this basis he hopes to introduce a 36 hour week, for his employees, each shift working six hours a day. His attitude is well expressed in the following: "It is an economic benefit if a machine wears out under extreme production, an economic disadvantage if men and women are worn out by long hours." His visit to America he describes as a Missionary enterprise in the interest of his plan. Lord Leverhulme has recently purchased the islands of Lewis and Harris and he plans to make these the centre of an extensive fish-preserving business.

England who saved and suffered and sacrificed and died in the greatest war effort ever made in the history of the world. (Applause.) And just as old England gave the lead that enabled us to win the war in Europe, so, I am convinced, old England will give us the lead that will enable us to come out of the great conflict that is raging at the present moment throughout the whole world—the conflict between Labor and Capital. (Applause.) During the past few months we had Mr. Tom Moore, president of the Dominion Trades and Labor Council, suggest as a remedy the 8-hour day. We had Mr. Mackenzie King suggest, as his remedy, the calling together of the four parties to industry, namely, Capital, Management, Labor and the Community, with their feet under a common table, to solve the problem. And then we had the Rev. Dr. Ribourg suggest, as the church's remedy, the teachings of the lowly Nazarene—good-will, comradeship, and the brotherhood of man. Gentlemen, we have a great English leader with us here to-day—Lord Leverhulme, (Hear, hear and applause.) and he has already practised what these men have been preaching. He has incorporated them all in his plans, and we welcome him here to-day, and are grateful to him for coming to tell us the result of his wonderful experiment. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I have the honor of introducing to you Lord Leverhulme.

Lord Leverhulme was received with loud applause, the audience rising. He said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I feel honored by your very generous introduction of me. It is a great source of pleasure to me to have this opportunity of meeting so many of the prominent business men in this great city of Toronto. I have been coming to Toronto for over thirty-one years. One of your citizens, after seeing me married in the year 1874, left what you called the "decadent" country, and came to Canada, with all its young and budding life. We have always been friends as far back as memory goes, we are friends to-day, and I am very glad to see he is one of the company at this luncheon—Mr. Alfred Robinson. (Applause.)

But I assure you, Mr. Chairman, I have not come under the impression that I can tell you anything that would be of very much use. I remember a tale that has been going around London. A member of one of the clubs there came in with one or two Canadian friends. A little group were sitting at the table, and they invited this member and his Canadian friends to come and have a cup of coffee and cigar with them, which they had, and after they had left, one of the Londoners remarked, "You can always tell a Canadian, can't you?" "Yes," said another, "but you can't tell him much." (Great laughter.) I feel very conscious of that.

There is another story I must have you bear in mind. It is of a young man who opened a fish shop, and he fixed it up with plate glass and marble slabs, and then he put his sign over the door—his name, and the words "Fresh Fish Sold Here." Then he went across the road and admired it. A friend came, and he showed him over the shop, and the friend admired the marble slabs and the plate glass, and then he took him across the road. The friend said, "Yes, but look at your sign." "Why, there is nothing the matter with the sign." "But you say 'Fresh Fish Sold Here.' Surely you don't need to say "Fresh"; everybody will know your fish is fresh. I should think that is rather begging the question. I should leave the 'Fresh' out." The shop-keeper saw there was something in it, and he called the painter and ordered the word to be painted out. Another friend came in, admired the marble slabs and plate glass, then went across the road, and looked at the sign, and said, 'Fish Sold Here'?—surely you don't need to say 'Sold Here'; nobody will think you have opened your shop to sell the fish down the street." So the shopman sent for the painter and painted out the word "Here." Still another man came, admired the marble slabs and plate glass, and when he got across the street he said, "Look here." The shopman said, "Why, is there something the matter with the sign yet"? "Well," he said, "You say 'Fish Sold'; surely everybody will know you don't keep a shop to give fish away." (Laughter.) So the shop-keeper sent for the painter again, and he painted out the word "Sold." Now, he thought it was perfect—"Fish"—and his name only, and these told the whole tale. But another friend came, and he admired the marble slabs and the plate glass, but when he got across the street he objected to the sign. The shop-keeper said, "Why, what's the matter with the sign"? "Well," he said, "you say 'Fish'; my God, I could smell them as soon as I turned the corner." (Great laughter.) So I am afraid that the good old systems and customs that prevailed in commerce are subject to such criticism. First one comes and makes a suggestion, and then another, until the old methods would be in danger of sharing the fate of that sign over the fish shop. I feel confident you will agree with me that systems that have survived through the ages, while they may want a little modification here and there, cannot have very much wrong with them in the aggregate. But sometimes we are apt to get into ruts, and the tendency has been for the employer on one hand and the employes on the other to rather regard themselves as in opposite camps more or less opposed to each other. As a matter of fact, here in Canada especially, and in the United Kingdom and the United States as well, the employee of yesterday is the employer of to-morrow. We are all made of the same flesh and blood; we have the same ambitions, the same aspirations; and I for one rejoice that the workman to-day is desiring to rise and better himself, to be enabled to place his wife and family in better social conditions, and even if possible to own his own motor car and take them for joy-rides on a Saturday afternoon. Why not? Men who work, whether they work with their hands or their brains, and whatever they work at, are the men into whose lap all the modern additions, even luxuries that add to the comfort of life, ought to be poured; they have won them by their labor. But there are various stages in the process of evolution, and your problem and my problem to-day is that the workman, seeing the employer dash past in a motor car, and perhaps unhappily splash some of the mud upon the working man crossing the road, is apt to see only the motor car. He did not see the young employer begin, as you know he began, as we all know; he began as a young man who was always rendering service greater than he was being paid for; and that rule has carried him into the motor car. It was because of that kind of work when he began that he is now among what they call "the multi-millionaires" of to-day; I understand you have them unusually thick in Canada, (Laughter) and I am glad of it, for every country is the better for the man who works and develops the resources of the country, who spends less on himself in luxuries and over-eating and over-drinking, and more upon the developing and extending of the interests he is engaged in; and it is only in that way that these fortunes are built up. Sometimes there may seem to be short-cuts, but if you will follow, as you know you can do, every man, the men who have attempted to take the short-cuts find that they do not land them in increased welfare, but the reverse.

Now, the workman sees this prosperity, and he thinks it is some capitalistic dodge, some way in which, by the capitalistic system, as he calls it, the game has been unfairly played for himself; that all the benefits have gone one way, and all the toil has gone the other way. When he hears of Harry Ford and his millions he does not think of Harry Ford working and toiling on the farm, as we know he did from the life that has been published, and taking the clocks of the neighbors and of his father to pieces, and studying their mechanism, and fitting them up again. He does not think of Harry Ford, when he was 17, running away from the farm with three dollars or four dollars in his pocket, that he had saved, and going to Detroit, engaging himself at $2.50 a week, and having to make another couple of dollars a week by using this experience of clocks, by repairing clocks for some clockmaker in the town after he had finished a ten-hour working day; and then with the $2.50 he received for his full week's work, and the $2.00 he received for the evening's work, he was just able to support himself and pay for his board and lodging, because he was determined to be no burden on his father and mother. That is not seen. And then, from that, they do not see that after he had got experience he had to decide whether he would accept a rise in wages that the firm offered him, which would have enabled him to dispense with his evening work and keep himself by working ten hours a day, or take that as a hint that he had become accomplished in all that that firm could teach him, and go to some other firm and start again at $2.50. Harry chose the latter, and continued with his evening work. Then you remember, when he was just about to further his experience of mechanics, his father became ill, and the sickness resulted later in his death; his mother called him home, and he cheerfully went back to the farm and worked along there. Later he met the girl who became the present Mrs. Ford; that joined him to the farm a bit longer; then you remember he went and gave up the farm and accepted again a position in engineering shops, and worked laboriously for a tenth of the money he had been making on the farm. That is all missed; that is not seen; and the workman therefore considers that by some way other than by a better equipment of himself and better service to the great public he will achieve success and get a share of that motor car and other luxuries and comforts which, I agree, he is fully entitled to if he will go the right way about it.

On the other hand, the masters—every one of us in the room—know that if we would increase our incomes next year we have to plan to increase our business; we have not to plan how we can get a higher price for a smaller quantity, but how, by doubling the quantity, we may be even able to lower our price and still make more money in the year. That is the lesson that the workman is apt to overlook. Wherever he has grasped it he has never remained a workman long; he has been in a little while a little higher and better, until he has finally become a master.

Now, I am an optimist on the workmen of both Canada and the United Kingdom, and the United States. I believe that in this country and the other countries I have mentioned we have the finest material in the workman that there is in the whole world; (Hear, hear.) and if we can only show the lines on which we can jointly work together, then surely such abounding prosperity will come to this great country, such development of great wealth that nature, with generous hand, has poured lavishly into your lap, as will make you the envy of all other and less happy nations.

But it does appear to the workman something like this. In the Old Country they very often have what they call "draws" at Christmas. You put in a shilling, and a number of other shillings are put in just before Christmas, and there will be a goose and a turkey and a chicken and other good things drawn for. The lucky drawer gets one or other of the items. One Christmas, just before that event, a countryman came into a village inn where a draw was being arranged, and the landlady says, "Tammas, have you put into our draw"? "Naw, Ah bean't heerd aboot t' draw." "Yes, we're havin' a draw; we're havin' a turkey, and a goose, and a duck, and a chicken, and a pair o' gloves, a' to be drawn for; tickets are only a shillin'; will you have a part?" "Oh, but Ah bean't got a shillin'." "Never mind, Tammas, you've lived in this village, man and boy, all your life, and I'll trust you for the shillin'." "Well, Ah'll tak a ticket." So he took a ticket. When it got to Christmas time he went in and asked how the draw had gone on, "Did you have t' draw"? "Yes, Tammas, we have had the draw, and, d'ye know, my husband, he won the turkey; weren't he lucky"? "He wor lucky." "And d'ye know, Tammas, my daughter won the goose; weren't she lucky?" "She wor lucky." "And my married brother, he won the duck; weren't he lucky"? "He wor lucky." "And our married son, he won the chicken; weren't he lucky?" "He wor lucky." "And our little lass, Tammas, won the pair o' gloves; weren't she lucky"? "Yes, she wor lucky." "Oh, but, Tammas, I guess you have never paid your shillin'." "Naw; weren't I lucky?" (Great laughter.) Gentlemen, I am afraid it often appears like that to the workman.

Now, profits are not made entirely by capital, and not entirely by labor, but by a combination of capital and labor with good management. If it was only capital and labor you would merely need to buy a man a spade and let him dig a hole to-day and fill it up to-morrow, and he would get rich each day with his labor—plenty of work, the capital being the spade, and so on. But you know that there are undertakings in Canada that have not lacked for capital, which has been lavishly subscribed by the public, and labor has been ample in the undertaking, yet somehow there has been no earning capacity, and we have found too late—perhaps not always too late to rectify—that the management has not been good. We must have good management as well as the capital and labor. And whilst you will be able to find machines that will dispense with labor in some cases entirely, and in other cases reduce labor, the wit of man has yet failed to invent a machine that will do without either capital or management, and least of all, good management. (Hear, hear.)

Now, I want to impress upon you all this fact: that the writings of many in the last century and the latter part of the 18th century, were always in the direction of saying that labor was the source of all wealth. We know what was meant by the term; not exactly labor as we mean it to-day, but that root idea has got imbedded in the workman's mind, and he is apt to think that if you will only appropriate to the municipalities the utilities and public services, such as tram cars, railways, and other public undertakings, you will then have secured for the public benefit the profits that at present accrue to private ownership. But are you certain that under those conditions you will get the management? Is it possible in politics, political ownership, to combine the management under a political system of selection? That problem has never yet in the whole history of the world been solved successfully. (Applause.) It is only by private ownership that the best results are obtained. But this is no new doctrine; why, Aristotle declared two thousand years ago that whilst the state must own public buildings and public open spaces, it was private ownership that developed the finest type of men and women. It is therefore the task and the duty of you and me, every employer of labor, to concentrate our minds not solely on the item of dividends, important as those are, and as indexing the measure of success of the undertaking, all-important, but in producing the finest type of men and women. Now, it is not public ownership that can replace private ownership. We are not in opposition in any way to public ownership of those utilities, but Aristotle told us two thousand years ago that they would not produce the finest type of men and women; it is private ownership that does that.

Now, how can we have private ownership in those huge aggregates of capital and labor comprising tens of thousands of workmen, thousands and millions of dollars of capital—the employer rarely seen, rarely recognized? How are you going to give to each unit there a sense of ownership—just as keen a sense of ownership as that of the president of the company? There may be many methods of achieving this. It may be that many may consider it is not worth achieving; it is not worth trying for. It may be that others think that if, by some method of co-partnership or profit-sharing the dividends can be increased, it would be worth thinking about. You know the story of the Scotchman who was working at the circular saw, and his hand slipped, and before he knew where he was the saw had taken off three of his fingers. He stooped and saw one down amongst the sawdust, and he said, "But I must find those fingers, I can get them stuck on again." Then he put down his other hand and tried to find the fingers, but failed. Then he laid a three-penny bit on the top of the sawdust, and the fingers came up at once. (Great laughter and applause.) Well, Mr. Chairman, there is no element of that sort to commend co-partnership to any of us. I believe that the man who thinks co-partnership is an item to be added, as it were, to the bill-of-fare of a business, that will increase some of the side-dishes, especially the dividends, and make them more palatable and richer, is going to be grievously disappointed. He will never get further than the soup stage—and he will find himself in it. (Laughter.) It is not with that motive. But I can say this: if the motive is to arrive at a proper relationship so that the profits made in the business, which at present go in one huge volume to the shareholders only, can be fairly and justly diverted, as to a portion of them, to the workers—if that commends itself to a man as equitable and just, as recognizing universal brotherhood amongst us all, and that the workman has the same aspirations to private ownership as the president of the company;—if he believes that, and endeavors faithfully to put it in practice, then I believe, as confidently as I believe that we are all here in this room, that the profits will not fail him, but that they will be more assured. Whether they are less in volume or more, does not matter, but that there will be happier and more contented relationships; that the burden of the business will be carried by a greater number of brains and shoulders, and a greater number of hands, and especially of hearts, will be devoted to the success of the business than under any other system.

That is simply the proposition that I have endeavored to put into practice now for many years; and I can say this, that whilst it is impossible under a co-partnership system to say that you can trace here and there definite effects from definite co-partnership allotments, yet I can say that each year the business that has adopted this plan—whether it has been my own or others that I have read of—and adopted it from a right motive, will bring the results I have stated.

Many co-partnership schemes cannot have been adopted for the right motive, because the returns issued by the British Parliament some years ago showed that the average life of co-partnership schemes and profit-sharing schemes in the United Kingdom had been five years. They had been tried undoubtedly with the idea that they would stop strikes, that they would make workmen contented, and so on. Why should they? Why should not the workman have his right to strike, whether he is a partner or not? Surely we do not give up our right to bargain because we are conducting our business on the basis of individualism, and confidence, and so on. We are not asked to give up anything. All I say is this: that the workman under the co-partnership system is far less likely to strike than to desire to talk the dispute over. He is far more anxious to meet his employer and discuss the matter of difference fairly and squarely than he is to rush out in a hot moment and "down tools." And equally, the employer feels the bond between himself and his workmen which sweetens his life, which gives him confidence in those who are working with him, and that brings content in the only way that is really certain, that is, invisible content, not in any open, blatant, noisy manner, but binding all the forces together, just because it is a silent, quiet influence, because in the days of prosperity the workman feels that he is sharing in it, and in the days of adversity he feels that his employer has a heavier load to carry and a greater burden, and less profits to accrue therefrom. This binds us all together.

Now I would like to say a few words about the length of hours. You made a reference, Mr. Chairman, to the eight-hour day. I want to put this point to you in as few words as possible. Before the war, in the United States and in Canada generally, the workman had a ten-hour working day. Since the war I think it is generally, though not universally, an eight-hour working day. We had an eight-hour working day for many years before the war in the United Kingdom generally, not universally. When you read paragraphs in the papers and magazines of the decreased production following on the eight-hour day, remember this, that you have had your machinery standing idle so many hours per week when formerly it was working; and while automatic machinery by increased care and vigilance on the part of the operator, and quicker changes when change has to be made, will produce more per hour under an eight-hour day than per hour under a ten-hour day, owing to the less fatigue of the operator, that increase per hour is limited, and in no case, as far as my knowledge goes, can automatic machinery equal the output of ten hours. The ten-hour working day, following upon the previous twelve-hour working day of about a century ago, was practical with machinery; but as soon as you come to an eight-hour day you have got all your charges for interest, depreciation, repairs and renewals in all those industries. Where those amount to the equal of the weekly wage bill you are proving that the eight-hour day is impracticable; and if you will change to a six-hour work day, with two shifts, so that you are working the machine twelve hours and the human being six hours, I say, in all those cases where the upstanding charges—I don't know what name you have for them, but I mean all those expenses—interest, depreciation, repairs, renewals, salaries, rates and taxes and rent, which are fixed and not affected by whether you work eight hours a day or ten hours a day,—equal the wage bill, then the proper solution is at once to come to a six-hour day of two shifts, work the machinery twelve hours, by which you can get at least a fifty per cent. increase from your plant in the twelve-hour day of two shifts as compared with the eight-hour day of one shift.

Now, that is the whole problem. This solution is not universally applicable. It is not applicable to any industry where so little machinery is employed, so few factory buildings are required, that those charges are less than the weekly wages. A notable example that will occur to all of us is that of a farmer. If a farmer reduces his hours on his farm it will be from other reasons than to reduce the cost of production and increase his output; but a manufacturer, where those conditions prevail, if he has two factory buildings to-day, instead of building a third to take care of his increased demand—which third building will cost him more to-day than the pre-war cost of the other two—instead of doing that, if he will, at that psychological moment, adopt the six-hour working day of two shifts, he will have increased his output as if he had put up a third factory, but he will enormously reduce the cost of production. He will be able to pay the same wages for a six-hour day as for an eight-hour day—because that is an essential, otherwise we are only asking the workmen to work short time.

The problem with us in the Old Country is that the unions won't agree to work in two shifts. In the spring of this year I proposed to put into operation the six-hour working day in the company with which I am connected.

The trades unions at once declared themselves in opposition; and with a country like England, where eighty-five per cent. of the labor is organized in trades unions, however excellent their policy may be, it is not an easy matter to force a change before the workmen are ripe to receive it. Therefore I have not been able to press this matter forward, and we are waiting until the trades unionists can see that anything that increases the output will increase the wage fund, and thus enable us to pay greater wages to the workmen. As soon as the workingman sees this, I am certain the opposition to the two shifts will disappear—and without two shifts this scheme is impossible. We are hard business men; we have to be; we are in competition with the whole world, every one of us in this room. The world is shrinking. Here in Toronto you may be competing with a man in the same industry thousands of miles away in the United States or across the ocean, in the United Kingdom or on the continent of Europe; and you will only hold the position—any of us will only hold our position, and keep Canada to the front, and the United Kingdom to the front, to the extent that we can produce a greater volume at lower cost. (Hear, hear.) Anything that would increase the cost of production is a matter so hazardous to enter upon, so full of danger to the workman himself, that the best friend of the workman will not be a man full of tender sympathy, full of generous ideals for the betterment of the workmen, but even the hardest skin-flint of an employer, who believed in paying the lowest rate of pay for the maximum amount of work,—even that man, bad as he is, would be a better friend of the workman than a sentimental philanthropist, so-called, who thought he could play ducks and drakes with the great industries by starting out on lines that were uneconomic and that would prevent him and his country from competing with the whole world. Business conducted on such impractical lines could only reach disaster.

These are the lines on which I think we must progress—the sharing of profits on some agreed basis with copartners, so that they have a sense of ownership in the business, but not advancing them to the position of directors until they have learned all that has to enter into the cost of production, and all the other machinery of commerce upon which our industries are founded and built up. The premature putting of a man on the dock-side, say, to sit on the board of the Cunard Company, for example, might result in the loss of prestige to that company as far as the running of their ships was concerned, as that man's vision might not have extended so widely as to enable him to fill the position.

Gentlemen, the cry for admission of the worker to our boards of directors is a necessary and inspiring ambition on the part of the workman; but he will have to learn the whole machinery of commerce, he will have to re-learn his lesson, and know that only by service to the public and cheaper cost of production can his position as a director be of value to the company on which he wants to serve as such. Until he learns that—never mind Whitley reports, never mind all the ideals—we should only be like some man who wanted to climb one of your beautiful mountains, and who discovered that there were rivers to be crossed, chasms to be spanned with bridges, and so on, and who yet was going to go blindly ahead. He could only perish in the very first river he had to cross.

This is the problem we have got. It has to be educational; it has to be inspiring; it must give us a feeling that we are dealing with men of equal flesh and blood with ourselves, inspired with the same ideals, and equally with ourselves having to learn our lesson of life as every one of us in this room has learned it by the hard facts of experience.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, for the patient hearing you have given me. (Loud applause.)

HON. DR. CODY, at the request of the President, conveyed the thanks of the Club to Lord Leverhulme for his magnificent address. The Club had had the great opportunity of listening to a world figure in the realm of commerce and economics, and achievement, whose whole career has been singularly romantic, but it has been a romance based upon sterling achievement. He began by toiling, by practising industry, thrift and integrity, and as one who knows him well had said, his word was even better than a bond. By turning back into his business almost all the profit that could be spared he had built up one of the greatest businesses in the world, with a capital of probably half a billion dollars. His plan of co-partnership had been wonderfully successful because founded on the right motives, recognizing that the man who works is first and foremost a man, and more than a tool. Lord Leverhulme had always counted those who worked with him as real co-partners. His great experiment had created world-wide interest, also his model housing plan at Port Sunlight, and his great artistic collection. Latterly he has been known as the Laird of Lewis, where he is exercising his power for the welfare of the people on that island. He had also great interests in the Congo, and his frequent visits to that country had brought on attacks of malaria which resulted in the loss of his hearing through the use of quinine as a medicine. The address of Lord Leverhulme had been a propaganda of sound economic education which was so much needed in this country in view of industrial conflicts that may be approaching.

The speaker had shown the value of leisure time for improvement, and had pointed the way for working men to benefit by the shortening of hours. On behalf of the Club he desired to thank Lord Leverhulme for his forceful and illuminating discussion of the burning problems of the day. (Loud applause.)

PRESIDENT STAPELLS expressed the delight of the audience in having two outstanding representatives of the Old Land, and had much pleasure in introducing the great English actor, Mr. E. H. Sothern, whose name was a household word throughout this continent.

MR. E. H. SOTHERN was received by the audience rising and cheering, and he made a neat speech in which he expressed the hope that attention would be given not only to the industries but to the diversions and entertainments of the people. If the six-hour day were introduced the working men would have eighteen hours daily in which to consider what he would do with himself, and under those conditions the higher and nobler drama should be popularized, and he was sure they would appeal to working men as they had done to an audience of children in Chicago. He told a delightful story of a special performance given to school children in that city, the play chosen by the children being "The Merchant of Venice." The children had walked in procession to the theatre, costumed to represent the various characters in the play, and they had shown the keenest appreciation of every turn of the dialogue and in every scene presented. During one of the intermissions a school-boy jumped on his chair and shouted, "Gee, this beats the nickel show!" (Laughter.) The speaker pleaded for greater attention to the drama, and an educational campaign that would popularize the classic works of Shakespeare and other great writers, as an antidote to the cheap and sometimes degrading scenes and dialogue of popular entertainment, or the more degrading movie pictures.

THE BRITISH NAVY

AN ADDRESS BY ADMIRAL VISCOUNT JELLICOE.

Joint Meeting with the Canadian Club, Toronto, December 8, 1919.

Mr. Chairman, Your Honor, and Gentlemen of the Canadian and Empire Clubs,—I regret exceedingly that I have got to begin by contradicting the chairman, as I had to contradict His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor last night. The British Navy did not win the war. The British Navy made it possible for the armies to win the war. The British Navy could not have won the war because a war must be finished on land. If the British Navy does its job it is to make it possible for the armies to do theirs, and right well the British army, assisted by those splendid forces coming from overseas, right well did those armies do their jobs. And amongst Canadians, I may make you blush but it is true that Canada did her part at least as well as anybody else, and one of the proudest souvenirs which I have of the war, one of the most prized souvenirs, is a stick made out of the wood of the Cloth Hall at Ypres. I am not sure that there is not more than one. Anyhow I have got one which was given to me during a visit to France last year by some of the members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

I suppose that most of you know the reason for my visit to Canada. I have been invited here. I am not an uninvited guest. But why I am in Toronto I really do not know, except that again I have been invited to Toronto. The object of my visit to Canada was a matter of duty. I am not quite so sure that I can say that my visit to Toronto is altogether one of pleasure. It is a real pleasure to make the acquaintance of the Toronto people but it is not a bit of a pleasure to talk to them as I have had to do since I have been here and as I have still got to do for the remaining hours of my stay.

I have earned my lunch, or rather perhaps I have got to try and earn it.

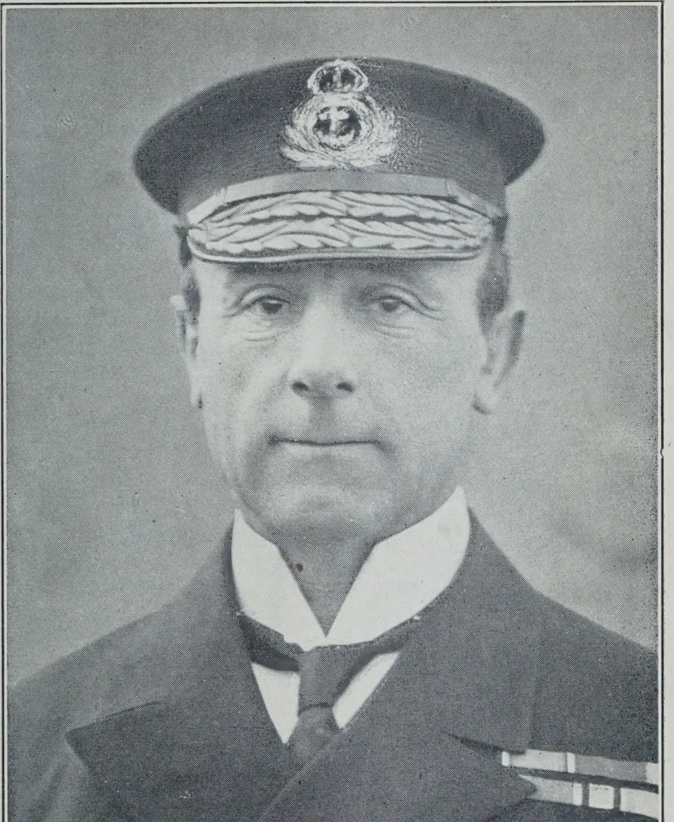
Well, perhaps as there is some dispute between the chairman and myself as to who won the war, I had better begin by saying what I conceive to be the duties of the British Navy during war. And I take it that those duties are threefold. First, the destruction of the enemy's armed forces if you can get at 'em. Secondly, to free the seas of enemy vessels and to deny the seas to the enemy's merchant ships. And, thirdly, to make certain that the seas are quite clear and are defended for the use of our own vessels.

As to the first of these objects, of course if the first is achieved the rest follow automatically. But it is not always quite an easy matter to destroy a fellow who does not want to be destroyed, and there is quite naturally a feeling on the part of the other fellow if he does not want to be destroyed, to stop in a place of safety, and the Kiel Canal is quite a safe place in war. On one or two occasions, perhaps on four occasions, portions of the enemy's armed forces showed themselves in the North Sea, but they did not stay long enough to be wiped out. And there, again, I think they were quite wise.

As regards the second task, the clearing of the enemy's ships from the seas you may remember perhaps that at the commencement of the war there were 915 German merchant ships abroad and of that number 156 got home, the majority of them being near home when war broke out and the remainder disappeared off the seas in a few days. They mostly sought shelter in neutral ports, some of them were captured at sea and taken into British ports. And the German warships also disappeared in a few months but not until they had inflicted some loss upon our mercantile marine and some loss upon our navy. The principal loss which we suffered in the navy was of course the loss of Admiral Craddock's gallant force at Coronel, and in that action four Canadian mid-shipmen made the supreme sacrifice. The result of that action was due, first, to a very considerable inferiority of force on the part of the British squadron and, secondly, to the fact that the squadron was a hastily mobilized squadron when war started, manned by reservists largely, who had not had the opportunity of being trained in the ships in which they fought, and they were up against the two finest shooting ships in the German navy. And Admiral Craddock knew all that but he felt that it was his duty to endeavor to inflict such damage on those ships as would prevent their getting into the Atlantic before we had forces to deal with them, and in carrying out his duty he went down, taking with him all his gallant comrades. The result of that action was due to the inferiority of our overseas forces at the commencement of the war, and I think it is a lesson to us in future that we ought to maintain not only in the main theatre of war, but in every part of the world, forces which are sufficient to deal with any possible enemy.

In the task of guarding the sea communications of the Empire the navy was faced with two separate and distinct wars—first, the war on surface vessels, and secondly, the war instituted by submarines. So far as the first description of war is concerned the navy in spite, I think, of the inferiority of our overseas squadrons, has reason to be satisfied with the result. We lost some 106 or 107 of our British merchant ships during the four and a half years of war by the attack of the enemy's surface vessels, and if you compare that with other wars there is reason for satisfaction. In the two years after Trafalgar, when if ever the navy had command of the sea, we lost over 1,000 merchant ships. During the Civil War in the United States two Confederate cruisers in 22 months accounted for 129 Northern merchant ships. The majority of the ships which we lost were lost by reason of the work of disguised enemy raiders and they were a class of vessels with which it was very difficult to deal.

Our first experience with them was in the action between the raider "Grieffe" and the armed merchant ships "Alcantara" and "Andes." The "Grieffe" was trying to



ADMIRAL VISCOUNT JELLICOE

get out of the North Sea and she was sighted by the "Andes" and "Alcantara." She was flying Norwegian colors and she appeared to all intents and purposes as a peaceful trader. It was necessary of course to board her to ascertain her true character and the "Alcantara" closed near to board. Whilst she was hoisting out her boat for that purpose the "Grieffe" threw down her bulwarks concealing her guns and fired a torpedo from her submarine tube and opened fire on the "Alcantara." The torpedo took effect and in the first few moments the gun fire was very effective until the "Alcantara" replied and with great effect. The torpedo itself finished the "Alcantara" which sank, but not before she had finished off the "Grieffe."

That experience made it very difficult to know how to deal with vessels of that nature in the future, because you must board a vessel to find out what she is like. The Germans of course showed great ingenuity in the disguise of their raiders and the greatest example of ingenuity was that in the case of the "Saydlo." The "Saydlo" was a sailing ship with auxilliary power, and on Christmas Day of 1916 she was sighted by another of our armed merchant vessels and was brought to. The description of the captain of the "Saydlo" is one of great interest. He has written a book which some of you may have read. It gives some idea of the ingenuity displayed, and the difficulties with which one has to deal in tackling vessels of that nature. I will tell you something about her.

She was some months fitting out. Her captain spoke Norwegian. She fitted out as a Norwegian vessel and when she sailed she adopted the name of a Norwegian vessel which was sailing at the same time, and she had all her papers made out to show that she was a Norwegian vessel in case she was boarded. But the captain was taking no risks. Until he got clear of all our cruisers and well out into the Atlantic he kept his guns in the hold covered by cargo. He had the deck of his cabins fitted to disappear in case of necessity by means of a hydraulic system, lever operated in the cabin. The idea was that if the British boarded him and put an armed guard on board he would get them into the cabin, pull the lever and they would find themselves down below with some gentlemen with pistols at their heads. He was anxious that one particular portion of the cabin which contained the apparatus should not be examined, so he dressed one of his younger officers up as a woman and explained when the boarding officer got on board that his wife was very ill and he hoped she would not be disturbed. The boarding officer went on board and went down to the cabin and examined the papers and found everything as he thought satisfactory, so the lever was not pulled, and the sick wife was duly sympathized with. Meanwhile a gramophone on deck was playing, "It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary." No suspicions were aroused and the vessel was allowed to go, and I don't think that anyone can blame our officer for being spoofed.

Well, now, the submarine campaign is not a matter for congratulation so far as its results were concerned because our losses, as you all know, were exceedingly heavy. But neither the Germans nor anybody else including ourselves recognized quite the capabilities of the submarine before the war. Capt. Perseus, a German naval writer, who spends a good deal of his time now in abusing Admiral Von Tirpitz, has complained that Admiral Tirpitz did not recognize before the war the capabilities of submarines and he thought he ought to have built a great many more. Well he was not alone in that. Nobody had tumbled to the fact that submarines could keep the sea for the time that they succeeded in doing during the war, and that they were independent of overseas bases. Our strategy in the earlier days was rather adapted to capturing what we imagined the Germans must have for bases, either floating or on shore, from which their submarines were operated. And we had an excuse for that feeling which was held by many officers for three or four years until it was realized how great a radius of action submarines had. When the Germans realized the capabilities of submarines if put to the inhuman use to which they put theirs, they started with an immense advantage over us. In the first place the whole of their shipbuilding capabilities could be devoted to building submarines, and German ship yards are very efficiently equipped, and they made great use of them, although Capt. Perseus complained that they did not build enough. There is a very hot argument going on now between Admiral Von Capell and Von Tirpitz as to which built the most. Our job of course was to find counter measures.

Counter measures before the war did not exist. The first and most obvious counter measure was to gather our trade into convoys in order that the submarines would have to approach a guarded convoy in order to attack. It was an easier matter to concentrate our merchant ships into convoys than to get them through the submarine zone, provided always that we had enough vessels to guard the convoy and of course for the first three years of the war we had not. Then all the brains were at work in endeavoring to find some other counter to submarines in the way of offensive measures. Of course the obvious remedy was to prevent the submarines getting out of their ports. But anybody after studying the exits from German rivers and German bases would see that in order to block these exits you would have to sink the greater part of the British Navy and the British mercantile marine at the entries. And having done that there is still the back door out through Poland and the Sound or the Baltic into the Scagerack, and it was impossible to block these exits because they pass through neutral waters. That remedy was not a possible one. And the brains got to work for remedies, and here I want to say that the Admiralty has great reason to be grateful to Canada for placing some of the brains which Canada did place at the Admiralty's disposal. Toronto itself has reason to be proud of the share which Toronto's representative took in that business. I won't name him because he is far too modest to like it. I don't mind naming a naval officer who had a great deal to do with it, Capt. Robt. York, of Rosythe. Another remedy which had to be found was safety against the mines, and for finding the cure for that a naval officer, Lieut. Burney, a son of my old second in command in the Grand Fleet, deserves credit. Remedies produced, of course, all took time.

In the first half of 1917 our losses, as everybody knows, were appalling, nothing more nor less. From that time on as naval officers and the scientists produced remedies, and the manufacturers manufactured the remedies, which was a long operation, we commenced to get the upper hand of the submarine menace, and by the end of 1917 the thing was pretty well in hand. I ventured once upon a time upon a prophecy—I was a great fool to do it—I prophesied in an extempore speech—I had to say something—when you are caught unprepared and you have got to say something you sometimes make foolish remarks. At any rate at the beginning of 1918 I prophesied that the submarine menace would be well in hand by August of 1918 and I was not far out, I think. I made the prophecy on my knowledge of what was in hand waiting for the German submarines as the manufacturers produced it.

Well now, can I take it that I have earned my lunch? I think we might turn our thoughts to the future. It is a dangerous thing to talk about future wars nowadays, and nobody wants to think about future wars at all. Everybody hopes that future wars are never coming, that the League of Nations is going to so operate as to prevent altogether any chance of future wars. At any rate everybody hopes that the League of Nations is going to do a great deal towards minimizing the danger of future wars—when the League of Nations gets to work.

There are some members of that League of Nations who are dependent both for their lives and their prosperity upon the safety of sea communications. The United Kingdom for instance is dependent for its life upon the safety of sea communications. Some portions of the British Commonwealth overseas are dependent for their prosperity upon the safety of those communications. And we in the United Kingdom anyhow think it well to insure against the risk of the cutting of those communications.

As I drove along here I noticed a sky scraper with the title, "Ocean Accidents—something or other." I imagine it was an insurance business against ocean accidents. Well if we insure against ocean accidents and insure against fire I think we are wise to insure also against interruption of our communications in war. And it might interest you to know what the mathematician on my staff works out as the United Kingdom's premium in that direction. The navy estimates, as I understand it, I have no authority but I have seen it stated in the press, that our navy estimates are sixty million pounds, $300,000,000, with the pound at a reasonable figure. The value of the overseas trade of the United Kingdom is something like fifteen hundred million pounds, again when the rate of exchange is right. And the insurance, therefore, taking the population of the United Kingdom at some forty-five or forty-six millions, works out at twenty-six shillings a head, per man, which is a premium—I hope I am right in my figures, I am not responsible myself—which is a premium of four per cent. Well, I am not an insurance agent but it doesn't seem to me to be an unreasonable premium and I thought it might interest you to have that figure. And that is all there is time for me to say.

I know that you are all very busy men. I think it must have been the dullest of things to have watched us feeding whilst you were looking on, and I am exceedingly grateful for the great honor which you have paid to the British Navy in coming here to listen to a man who cannot talk and who hates talking. But I feel that you have done it because you wish to do honor to the navy, and if the navy knew of it, if they could see this great assemblage, every officer and man would feel exceedingly grateful that people should be found in Toronto who would give up so much valuable time to do that honor. And I feel it all the more because I know that amongst this great audience there are many, many members of that gallant expeditionary force the members of which we look upon in the navy as our brothers. Thank you, gentlemen.

THE UNIVERSITIES AND COMMERCE

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. A. P. NEWTON, M.A., D.LITT., B.SC., F.S.A.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, December 12, 1919.

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: The mention of the annual meeting indicates that this is the last luncheon meeting over which I shall have the honor of presiding. Naturally, I am sorry; but I have the rather unique and most welcome coincidence to record here to-day. It is this: At the first meeting of the club over which I presided, we welcomed an eminent educationist from London, England, in the person of that delightful personality, Sir Arthur Pearson. (Applause.) As you know, he is devoting the latter days of his life to teaching sightless people how not to be blind. And now, at my last meeting, we have the honor to welcome another eminent educationist from London, England, in the person of Dr. Newton. (Applause.) He is devoting his talents to teaching visionless business men the importance of having university trained men in business, and perhaps equally visionless university authorities the importance of having a department to train such men. Now, he is a very important man, it is a very interesting subject, and Dr. Newton is very well qualified to address us upon it, and I will simply ask him to speak to us on "The Universities and Commerce."

DR. NEWTON was received with applause, and said:

Doctor Newton is Professor of Imperial History in the University of London. He is on a world tour gathering information on comercial conditions and on the work relative thereto being done in the Universities. He has been given a special travelling commission by the Royal Colonial Institute in preparation for the work which he is to conduct in the University of London upon his return.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, as you will naturally suppose, on rising to speak after such phraseology as your chairman has used I find myself in a condition where my modesty absolutely overcomes me. Luckily, I am able to disclaim either of the intentions with which Mr. Stapells suggested that I came here. I have been filling the position of lecturer or professor in Imperial History, and Professor Egerton of Oxford is the only other one who has a similar position, and my task in coming to this continent and going around the world—because I am going to Australia and New Zealand and South Africa—is to deal with the flow of graduate students between all parts of the Empire. When I was talking, on my last visit to Toronto, to Mr. Coombs, we happened to discuss the subject of Commerce, and I told him of some new experiments that are being worked out, not only in the university world of London, but also in the great financial and banking world of London—experiments which have come to fruition in a great scheme for providing commissioned officers for the very highest ranks of commerce, finance, banking and industry. Mr. Coombs then suggested that perhaps the most useful topic upon which I could speak to the Empire Club to-day was to describe the scheme we are adopting in London, not with the view of telling business men in Canada what they should do or what they should not do, but merely conveying a piece of information about what we are doing in my own university, the University of London. I should feel myself entirely incompetent to advise or even make suggestions to so great a university authority as Sir Robert Falconer, the President of the University of Toronto, who sits on my right. It would be entirely unbecoming of me to do so, and I will therefore merely inform you of some facts that have come to our notice in London. If you find any inspiration or any help, any guidance at all, by drinking at our fountain of experience, we shall be happy, but don't suppose that I am in the slightest degree appearing to advise such up-to-date business men as those of Canada. (Laughter and applause.)

Now, among the problems of reconstruction of a world that has come down in ruins about our ears, undoubtedly at the present moment a great share of our activities must be given to the building up of the great sphere of international commerce once more. The great business men —men like Lord Randolph, the governor of the Bank of England, Sir Charles Geddes, the chairman of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Corporation, and the other great merchants who do their work within the radius of a square mile in the city of London,—have felt that in the task of reconstruction their greatest need is to get young men who will be able to look at the problems of the world not with the narrow vision of a man whose sight is bounded by the walls of his own office, but with the greater vision, the trained vision, which has been built up, which has been helped in its growth, within the best educational institutions that we can find in the world.

Before the war, education and commerce were largely divorced from one another. The educationalist, by the ordinary law of supply and demand, fulfilled those demands that were made upon him, and generally looked, in the training of the under-graduates that came to him in the university, toward the training that is meant for the professions—for the law, for medicine, for engineering, the church, etc. They did not look directly to the training of those men for the walks of commercial life; and on the other hand the business world, as a general rule, distrusted the university-trained man; they thought he was a narrow-minded person who had not an interest outside his books, having been trained by the professorial variety of the human species, which is mostly known by having long hair and leaving umbrellas in the train. (Laughter.) They did not, possibly, suppose that those men could have any vision, any broad outlook on world affairs.

Now, owing to the circumstances of the war, it has come about that the two worlds have come to understand each other rather better. During the war we had built up in England great new departments of the government for which we had no civil servants. We had to officer largely from the ranks of the academic people, departments requiring certain linguistic attainments as university men are the only men who have sufficient knowledge of foreign languages to be able to read German communiques in their own evil script. People could trust them; they were not going to serve their own ends; and the great Department of War Trade, the War Trade Intelligence Department, was almost entirely officered by my own colleagues in the world of history. (Applause.) The economists were stolen from the universities at such a rate that we could hardly carry on any academic teaching whatever. They were put to advising the amount of foodstuffs that should be imported, the amount of cotton, and where the cotton should be obtained—any number of duties were laid upon their shoulders, and unfortunately some of them have been stolen permanently. One of my colleagues, Professor Chapman, of the University of Manchester, has been stolen from the ranks of academic teaching to be Secretary of the Board of Trade. Unfortunately a good many other men who went into the life of civil servants have gone permanently away from the academic world.

In that process—because they met them upon committees, because they talked with them as man to man—the men in the world of business found that the university person was hardly such a purblind idiot as he had thought in the past; and the university man found that the business man, whom he thought such a narrow person that his only anxiety was making money, was as good a man as the university man of the highest type. Generally we have come into concert, we have worked together in our activities, to such an extent that no longer can it be said that we demand from the university man only an entrance into the profession. We also demand from him in some cases that he shall go into the world of business. In London the net result of all this was that in the months immediately preceding the armistice, when some of us thought the war was coming to an end fairly rapidly, and we thought that we should have to undertake the work of reconstruction at an early date, a committee was set up at the suggestion of the banking and mercantile community of the City of London, containing both the leaders of industry and some of the most presentable men in the university ranks, and there a scheme was worked out whereby the men could be trained to fill the highest positions in the mercantile world by the establishment of a commerce degree in the University of London. It is certain that any man who is to be appointed to such a position shall at any rate have had an academic training, shall at any rate have the best the university can offer him, so that there is a general idea that he can go into the world of finance or into the world of business and there show what he is made of, in his early years, instead of having to go through a very long apprenticeship in the lower grades before they can determine whether he is a good enough man to promote.

Now, outlining this scheme in detail, I would like you to note what purposes it is intended to serve. As I have said, one of the greatest problems of reconstruction, from this point of view, is the provision of a personnel for the management of our great industries. It is not a question only of internal trade, it is not only a question of trade within the British Empire; it is imperative, if we are to make up the wastage of war, that we shall find new sources of revenue outside of our own borders, for in foreign markets we shall be in bitterest competition with specialists of the most highly trained kind from the United States, from France, and at a later date from Germany. Every one of those specialists will have received in his own country an intensive training in commerce which we in England, at any rate, have hardly dreamed of up to the present. It behooves us, therefore, to meet them with their own weapons; and knowledge, we believe, in the future will be a far more potent lever in securing our rightful share of trade and commerce than we could ever secure by a placid resting upon our past reputation. (Hear, hear and applause.)

The University of London has a particular claim to assist in providing that personnel. The University of London is hardly enough heard of in the Empire as a whole. It is scattered widely in every part of the metropolis. It is of enormous size; it is of extreme complexity in organization because of the many tasks it has to fulfil; but gradually, as the work of the university is becoming known to our own people in London, that university is taking its rightful place and standing, because it is the university of the metropolis, and not because there is any particular merit in the men who officer it. It is standing out in its rightful position as one of the leaders in the university life of the Empire. It is therefore particularly right that in this matter, when a new venture has to be made, when we have to break away from the old precedents and work out into new, the University of London should be quite at the forefront of the new Empire.

In the scheme that I am about to describe to you I want you to realize clearly that it is by no means merely the product of the academic mind. At every turn, at every corner of it, we have had the help of the greatest men in our business community. Those men have told us what they want, what they believe their principal lieutenants shall possess in the way of education. When they have told us their demands, we from our technical knowledge have known best how to meet them; and from long, long experience—not experience of a personal kind only, but an experience that dates back to the last two or three hundred years over the commercial traditions of the city of London, and is a particularly long and closely-knit one—from that fund of experience they are able to judge, as perhaps few mercantile bodies through the Empire are able to judge, what is really necessary to carry on a foreign trade successfully. And we do not say that this scheme is in any way a final one. We simply say that is a basis upon which in future the new edifice can be built. It is a beginning of commercial education upon larger lines than ever it has been done before.

Now, you will notice in what I have got to say, that I am saying absolutely nothing about office practice, nothing about shorthand, nothing about typewriting, very little about accountancy and bookkeeping, because as it seems to our great merchants, that is not the kind of education that they want the people to receive if they are going to be the great lieutenants in business. If you want to get a shorthand writer, a stenographer or typewriter, you want him to carry out your views and not his own; but if you want a man to come quite close to the head of the business you want someone with a greater vision. You can employ stenographers and typists comparatively easily; but for an executive you want someone with a broad matured outlook upon things, who is not afraid of taking responsibility, who is not afraid of embarking upon new lines; therefore we have left on one side those vocational subjects, those technical-tool subjects which can very well be learned by the man after he has got into the office.

By the way, I am not a professor of economics, I am not a professor teaching commerce; my part comes in because they want those people taught some broad outlook on history; that is where I come into the scheme; but in one of the committee's meetings it was said to me by a man at the head of one of the biggest shipping firms in the world, "I don't want a man to learn bookkeeping; the kind of bookkeeping they have in the schools is not the kind we have in our office; I would rather prefer that the man should not come in with a knowledge of bookkeeping at all, because any person of average intelligence can understand our system with great rapidity, and it is far better that he should learn the system that he is going to adopt in the office where that system has been worked out." Taking that into account, we academic people were left with a very much freer hand.

Our system of university education involves a three years' training for all our degrees. In the first of those years into which a man comes, having passed through the ordinary good school, and having passed our matriculation examination and gained the examination that is taken at the age of about seventeen and a half, having passed through an ordinary good school he comes to us in the university and there gradually specializes. He does not specialize to any great extent in his first year; he begins his work upon the general line that he is going to carry on in the future. He specializes by either taking an arts course, a science course, a preliminary medical course, or a commerce course—as in this case. Sometimes he will have his arts degree before he takes his commerce course, but very frequently he may take commerce at the beginning. During that time, the first year, the subjects which lie generally around the main subject along which he is going to specialize at a later stage, and at the end of that year he takes what he calls the intermediate examinations, which test whether he has not merely attended the specific number of lectures that are prescribed for him, but test whether he has benefited by those lectures, whether he has a sufficient fund of knowledge to enable him to specialize satisfactorily along his own vocational line. Now, in commerce the intermediate curriculum which leads up to that intermediate examination is a rather interesting one.

A student in commerce has a certain number of obligatory subjects—subjects that he must take. First of all, he has to study the elements of economics. He has to study them from the theoretical point of view, and know something about what the masters of political economy said in the past. He has to study that in fair detail. Then, secondly, he has to study generally the outlines of banking, currency, trade,—which includes also transportation—and finance. Thirdly, he has to study foreign geography, because it is impossible to embark upon foreign trade, or even upon domestic trade, without knowing something about the countries from which the articles in which he trades have come. Fourthly, he either takes up accounting as applied to traders and trading companies, or in case he is going into banking and finance, and going into financial trade rather than entering upon the actual details of distributive industry, he has to study world industry, world history, with special reference to the 19th century. Those are obligatory subjects which every one has to take.

Then we begin to get to options. He must take an approved modern foreign language, a language other than his own. It is quite impossible for a man to enter into trade satisfactorily, even though he is only working in domestic trade, unless he has a knowledge and is able to read some language other than his own, and as conditions are now the languages from which he can choose comprise a very diversified list. The following is a list of them, and in reading this list I shall be apparently reading a list of some very out of the way languages, and you may ask, "How can you provide teaching in those languages?" As a digression, I might say that in the University of London we now have a full professorship, with all its apparatus behind it, or a lectureship in the case of the smaller languages, in every European language, with one exception. (Applause.) That exception is Albanian. We cannot have a lectureship in Albanian because the language is not yet written, but as soon as that language is written we shall have a lectureship in Albanian. Not merely that, but we also have the study with full apparatus of teaching, with definite classes at work. This is not in the air at all; there are classes really at work in most of the important languages of the east, constituting the School of Oriental Studies. The languages approved are as follows for the examination, but any other language may be submitted by the candidate providing it is approved. The languages are: French, German, Modern Greek, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Russian—all those have full professorships. Then, Polish, Arabic, these have a lectureship—Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Malay and Chinese—in which we have three full professors. (Applause.)

The candidate must take, at any rate, one of those. Then he may take another language; these men who are going into foreign trade will probably take two languages if they are going outside of the country as consuls, for very often this scheme, I may tell you, will prepare for entry to the new consular service. It allows a candidate to omit certain portions of the governmental examination if he has won our degrees. The second approved modern language would make way for science subjects providing he is going into the productive side of industry, that is to say, he is going to make this thing or that thing and the other, or at any rate he is going to sell the things that are made by the manufacturer of mechanical products—gramophones, sewing machines, bicycles, anything of that kind,—because we think a man in the selling part of that trade should know something of the sciences—chemistry, physics, biology, botany, mechanics, or applied mathematics. Or he may take the history of commerce, or he may take English if he is going into journalism, or lastly, if he is going into the advertising of those industries which deal with the production of art fabrics and that kind of thing, he may take commercial art as applied to an approved manufacture. At any rate, with those five subjects a certain degree of specialization is permitted, and he will have something of an equipment with which to begin his specialization in the latter part of his course.

Now, the latter part of his course occupies two years, and in those two years he narrows himself down to the actual subjects which work on the side of industry that he is going to take up. We have series of groups. The groups that are adopted are these: 1. Banking and Finance. 2. Trade, for those who wish to take colonial and general trade, and in certain cases distributing trades. Or, trade for those who wish to engage in the trade of a definite area, for example, Brazil or India or China or Russia or Scandinavia. The next group is Industry, for those who wish to take up engineering and metal trades, distributing trades, and those engaged in works and factory management. Or, next, he may take up General Transport, for those who are either going to work in the administrative side of railways—I do not say the engineering side, but the mercantile side, the administrative side of railways—especially for those who are going to take up the Shipping trade, or Inland Transport, for those who are going to work in the operating departments of railways. Lastly, Public Utilities, for those who are specially engaged in the managing side of such undertakings as gas, electricity, hydraulic power, water supply and irrigation. Last of all, we have those who are going into the artistic side of trade, the designing trades, those that produce art fabrics, and so on, and we think that particular division will often be taken up by those who are also engaged in the distributing or retail trade; a man who is to be the head of a great departmental store will then be very careful to know something about commercial art.

Now, whichever of those groups he takes up he must take certain obligatory subjects. First of all he has to take up the present organization of industry, banking, trade and transport. Even if a man is going to engage in the art business he ought to know something about the apparatus that he is going to use for distributing his commodities after he has produced them; and we therefore make it obligatory upon everybody that he understands something of the present organization of industry in general. We give him a breadth of view.

Secondly, he must take up modern economic development in other countries. Not merely must he know something about the economic development in his own country, but he ought to know something of the economic development of the countries with which he will be a competitor.

Thirdly, he must take up the elements of commercial law, because in every business legal questions often come up. We do not say he wants a technical knowledge of law; for that he can go to his solicitor; but he ought to know something about the general outlines of law, and that will obviously save him from falling into considerable difficulty.

Lastly, we have a subject that is rather an unusual one in the universities up to the present time, but it is growing very largely in value because of the experience we have gained in the war—he must take up the statistical method, which includes averages of factors of production, and the method of scientific investigation of problems of distribution and sale.

I do not say he is going to be examined in all those subjects, but somewhere or other in the last two years he will have a certain amount of teaching of this kind of thing. If he is going to specialize to become an academic teacher of any of those he will necessarily have to investigate them with a great deal more completeness; but some insight into that side of things will be given to him somewhere in his course.

Now, I am not going, in detail, into the actual prospectus for those who take up these various subjects from A to I, but I think it may be interesting to go into the details of one of them, or perhaps two of them if I have time. I think I have just time for one—the details of banking and finance. This is of great interest to us in England, in London especially, because London is still undoubtedly the financial centre of the world. (Hear, hear and applause.) Within four walls, and not for the purpose of the reporters, I may tell you something that was said to me a few nights ago. I was dining, in the privacy of his own house, with a New York financier of considerable eminence, who had one or two other people there, and talking to him on the problem of exchange, I said to him—with my tongue in my cheek—"Obviously, New York and the United States are now the centre of the world's banking and finance system." He says, "Are they?" He said, "When we take a holiday, London goes on without minding; when London takes a holiday, we sit and twiddle our thumbs." (Laughter and applause.)

Now, in the banking and commerce group the subjects prescribed are these: An approved modern foreign language—not involving the grammatical study of it, but the use of it as a tool-subject, involving the colloquial use of it, and especially the colloquial use as applied to the industry that the man is going to take up. He has to be able to read, with really a considerable amount of facility, everything that is written in that language about his own subject; he has to be able to write essays in that language, and commercial letters in that language on his own subjects, and he has to be able to take a *viva-voce* examination with an examiner who really does know something about it. We in London are rather peculiar in that way; my university has always kept high standards, and we are not going to have people who are merely pretending to do this, that and the other; they have to do it pretty well. Then we have, in this course, banking, including a general knowledge of the principal British and foreign systems and of stock exchange practice and the foreign exchanges. Next we have accounting and business organizations, accounts of traders at home and abroad, including foreign currencies and accounts of branches, the organization of business houses of various types, which will be studied to a certain extent within mercantile establishments that are willing to receive candidates.

And now, lastly, just let me say this. For the purpose of carrying on that study we do not insist that a man shall relinquish all connection with trade or industry, shall come and cloister himself in academic seclusion—because we have not got any academic seclusion in London; it is rather like living in a great railway station to work in that London college; but from our very earliest days, and that is about eighty or ninety years ago, we have always provided for the candidate who was open to earn his own living at the same time as he was studying for a university degree. We have therefore provided that practically all the teaching in those subjects shall be conducted after office hours. Very many of those men, thanks to the generosity of their employers, will be working in the business houses and great banks and corporations part of the day; they will come on to us in the late afternoon, and will study with us in the early evening during term time, ten weeks and eight weeks—those are our terms; and during the other part of the year they will have time for their own reading; but they will be living in the atmosphere in which they must always work; they will not get out of touch with those men who are going to command them in future; they will be in close touch with them. It has already happened in some cases that a large commercial company would say to its men, "Take a year off; go and work in the university the whole of your time, and get in contact with your subject, then come back for your second and third or fourth years, as the case may be,"—because sometimes men who are working so hard, after working over their studies, go back for their third or fourth years and work in the office part of the time and work in the university the other part of the time; and I am glad to say that that plan is working with the greatest satisfaction. I told you at the beginning that this was a new precedent. I don't know that I was quite correct in saying that. In my own college in the University of London, King's College, we have had for many years what are called the Gilbert lectures in banking; those lectures were endowed in the year 1860, I think; they are given to 600 or 700 bank clerks every year, men working in the banks in the daytime, and working with us in the evening. The results produced by those banking lectures have been entirely satisfactory to the banks, so much so that very few men have got promotion in the London banks unless they have attended those lectures. Certain of the problems relating to transportation are nothing new to us; we have been having men from the offices of the great railways working in our ranks in this evening fashion for a good long while, and very often having the managers of the great railways to teach them, and so on.

Into this course that I am now describing some 400 men have made their entries this last October. They are coming in such numbers that we find it very hard to secure the people to teach them. I came away from London seven or eight weeks ago, and I cannot say how this thing is going, but we rarely embark in this kind of work without having it thought out pretty well, and from what I know of the community of London and the people who are taking this course it is by no means a project in the air; it is a real actual project going on at the present moment. If by means of it we can educate those men with broad vision, who will look at the trade and industry of the world as a whole, and not at the particular little problems of their own firm, I for one have no doubt that Britain, in the long run, will again place herself in the position that seemed jeopardized for a little while, but about which we really had no fear at the bottom of our hearts; she will again return to the proud position of the first commercial power on the globe. (Loud applause.)

PRESIDENT STAPELLS: Gentlemen, I do not know what Sir Robert Falconer will say in presenting the thanks of this Club to our distinguished guest, but I want to say that this address has made one blind business man see a great many things, and I think it had the same effect upon the business men who are facing me. I will ask Sir Robert Falconer now to present the thanks of the Club to Dr. Newton. (Applause.)

SIR ROBERT FALCONER: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, your applause has already shown the appreciation that you have, and that I am sure we all have, for this very clear, cogent and stimulating address that has been delivered by Professor Newton; and I am sure I may formally express to him, on your behalf, that we have listened to him, not only with much appreciation, but also with very much thankfulness by reason of his having told us that London is so full of energy and so full of vision as he has just announced. (Hear, hear.) Professor Newton, coming from the heart of things as he does, and coming directly, has been able to put before us in a personal way this project, which a good many of us have been studying from afar, and his visit cannot fail to be of immense advantage to us, I am very sure. I hope also that his visit will be of advantage to him in his future work when he returns to London, so that having gone round the Empire, and having seen the United States also, he will become one of those living links who are so necessary for us if we are to have this new world unified in order to do its best work. (Applause.) It is a matter of pride and thankfulness to us that London is maintaining her position (Loud applause.) and we hope that the great University of London will rise to greater power. It should be the greatest university in the world. I happen to be a member of London myself, but in the old days, when it was an external examination. I had to take it and study elsewhere. London has never hitherto taken the position that she should have taken academically, for various reasons. The parts of the university have been scattered. Attempts have been made to bring them together, and I believe they are coming together as never before, and now there are opportunities to the world at large and to the Empire afforded by London which I believe will put her where she ought to be. We, as Canadians, must be very proud to know of those steps that are being taken; and here is another indication of the vitality that is there. Our students should be drawn to London more and more in order that they may get that group work.

In the University of Toronto we have been studying this wonderful scheme that Professor Newton outlined, and a committee of the Senate has already resolved to recommend that a degree of Bachelor of Commerce should be established in the University of Toronto. (Applause.) We are studying this course, which naturally is very much more comprehensive than anything that could be attempted in Toronto, the variety of interests in London is so very great, the industries are so different, and it stands at the centre of the world. I believe that our university, without necessarily following precisely on the lines of London University, will be able very soon to present a course or courses which will give new opportunities to the young men in this new period. Most of you know, but some of you are not aware of the fact, that for many years we have been turning out a number of highly trained men in the department of Commerce and Finance. That is an honors course, however, that is only for the very few. You can go to New York and various places and find men who have taken that course holding very high positions. But that has not met the need, and the desire has been entertained for something wider in the way of providing for education in commerce, and from a variety of sources this need has been pressed in upon us, and I hope something will be forthcoming.

But now that I am on my feet I will say that this Club and this city should take their share in enabling us to make a course like this a success. (Hear, hear and applause.) You cannot ask one side to do the whole thing, and one of the needs of this community and this country is a chair of Geography. (Hear, hear.) There is not one in this Dominion. (Hear, hear.) I approached the Board of Trade last summer in the hope that they might see their way to enter upon such an undertaking with us. I am afraid the Board of Trade has not seen its way yet; but why should not the Empire Club, together with the Board of Trade, endeavor to secure for the University of Toronto a first-class chair of Geography? We are overwhelmed in the university with demands of all sorts, for buildings and everything else; the pressure is enormous, and the government probably might not be able to give us some of these things; but a chair of this kind, which is essential if such a course as this is to be effective, will bear at once upon a community like this. Let me give you an example of that. You read the other day in the newspapers that the British West Indies are gradually drawing closer and closer to the United States. What will that mean? We from Canada, and perhaps we from Britain—how many of our people in this Dominion have had their eyes open to the West Indies as an outlet for trade of this country? Very few indeed, I think. That is only one example. If we had a chair of Geography turning out men, or illuminating men with a vision of what lies not far off in commerce, it would be of immense service. I believe, therefore, that the returns that would come in from the help that you could give in enabling us to strengthen a course, if we undertake to do this kind of thing, would soon be very widely felt; and what would it mean to this immense city to provide $4,000 or $5,000 a year for a chair of Geography? The city makes very little return to the university for the $3,000,000 in cold cash that is spent in it every year; and we are worth more than that in cold cash every year to this city; that is a very low calculation. But what would $3,000 or $4,000 be to the university? It would return to the city manyfold. The second point is this: suppose by this new course of Commerce and Finance, we were able to train men—as we have done in the past—for the consular service—men who are to be the eyes of Canada abroad; if Canada is to get foreign trade we must have a fine consular service, well trained, I will guarantee that we will do that training for you, and we will soon turn out men just as well trained as you could meet abroad. We have the equipment up there for languages—Spanish and French and all the rest of them; not all this list that Dr. Newton has read, but the ones that we need for Canada and in other ways. But will you guarantee that those up-to-date men who have perhaps taken the languages course with us and a good long training, will get, at the end of that, a decent position abroad after they have had that training? (Applause.) Will you see that Ottawa pays enough salary in foreign parts to those young men to make it worth their while to go into consular service? (Hear, hear.) It is not the part of the university to see to that; that is for you to see to—to see that if we turn out that class of man, the highly trained Canadian, who will be able to take his place along with consuls from other countries, good positions will be open for those men abroad so that they will be able to return to you the worth of their fine training. To-day, things are not as they ought to be in that respect. Those are the only two things—the chair of Geography and the consular service—I will mention to-day, and I will sit down, thanking you for the opportunity of speaking and returning thanks to the speaker for his fine address. (Loud applause.)

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Boyd, W. B.
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Burrows, Acton
Burrows, F. W.
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Burton, E. C.
Burton, E. S.
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Calvert, George A.
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Cameron, J. A. C.
Cameron, R. H.
Cameron, Capt. W. A.
Cameron, W. A.
Cameron, W. M.
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Campbell, F. N.
Campbell, G. C.
Campbell, Geo. H.
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Campbell, J. A.
Campbell, Jno. M.
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Carruthers, George
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Carson, W. J.
Carson, Wm. J.
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Carter, R. F.
Carveth, J. A.
Case, Egerton R.
Case, Thos. A.
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Cassels, R. S.
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Catto, John
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Cherry, W. W.
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Chisholm, A.
Christie, Harry
Christie, R. J.
Christie, Major R. J.
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Clapp, E. M.
Clapperton, H. G.
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Clark, J. Murray, K.C.
Clark, L. J.
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Clarke, J. B., K.C.
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Clarke, Wm. J.
Clarke, W. J.
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Clatworthy, George
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Cleal, J. P.
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Clemes, A. E.
Clemes, H. B.
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Cockburn, W. R.
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Cohen, B. G.
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Cole, H. R.
Colebrook, H. J.
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Cowan, H. N.
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Cowie, R. W. R.
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Cox, Rev. Walter
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Craig, D.
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Evans, J. R.
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Fisher, Grenfell W.
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Greene, V. W.
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Mitchell, Lorne W.
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Morton, Ralph C.
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Moses, H. R.
Moss, Fred.
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Mosure, Frank B.
Mott, C. N.
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